

IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATION

A Case Study of the Major Debates and Ideological Conflicts
in the Development of Contemporary Chinese Education

by

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To contrast the opposite,
So as to reveal the correct.
This is to aim at rising above
To reach yet a higher level of understanding.

Tang Junyi,
The Value of the Spirit of Chinese Culture,
1953.

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ABSTRACT

This study is a critical enquiry into the relationship between ideology and educational development. The People's Republic of China (PRC) has been chosen to illustrate the particular case of engineering social change through educational reforms. Ideological contradictions between the dominant political ideology and the popular culture are reflected in the major national debates on education. Overt statements of individuals and groups indicate diverse normative patterns. When the exponents of a political ideology endeavour to negate the traditional culture, the dynamic of cultural reproduction is seen as an obstacle to policy-making at all levels.

The relationship between ideology and education is defined in relation to cultural reproduction and political hegemony (Part I, Chapter 1:1). The concept of ideology is further exemplified in the context of the Chinese intellectual tradition of differentiating ideology from the system of classical and philosophical thinking. While the Chinese Communist ideology has been adopted as a symbolic instrument of domination, the Chinese traditional way of thinking persists and continues to influence people's way of thinking and behaviour (Part I, Chapter 1:2). Two ideal typical models of Confucius' thinking and the thoughts of Mao Zedong have been constructed to elucidate the contradictions between the two normative patterns (Part I, Chapter 2).

The basic problems of introducing a new ideology for Chinese education are discussed in relation to the residue of traditionalism, Chinese liberalism and the borrowing of foreign models. Together, they contributed to the resistance of a traditional pattern of education to change (Part I, Chapter 3).

The problem of modernizing education continues to engage the Communist leadership in a prolonged struggle of the 'new' against the 'old'. The conflicts are illustrated in the national debates on the contradiction between popularization and the raising of standards (Part II, Chapter 4), the relationship between theory and practice (Part II, Chapter 5), and red and expert (Part II, Chapter 6).

Political and social integration lies in the philosophical synthesis of establishing a system of modern Chinese thinking which has to be based on the foundations of the Chinese cultural spirit and her adaptation to the demand of modernity (Part III, Chapter 7). From this evolves a general guideline for an alternative educational policy in China's new long march (Part III, Chapter 8).

ABBREVIATIONS

CB	<u>Current Background</u> , United States Consulate General, Hong Kong.
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CCPCC	Chinese Communist Party Central Committee
CE	<u>Chinese Education</u> , IASP, New York.
CNA	<u>Chinese News Analysis</u> , Hong Kong.
CPPCC	Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference
CQ	<u>China Quarterly</u> , London.
CR	<u>China Reconstructs</u> , Peking.
CYL	Communist Youth League
GPCR	Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution
GMRB	<u>Guangming Ribao</u> (Guangming Daily), Beijin.
HQ	<u>Hongqi</u> (Red Flag), Beijin.
IS	<u>Issues and Studies</u> , Taipei.
KMT	Kuomintang (The Nationalist Party)
NCNA	New China News Agency (Hsinhua), Beijing.
NPC	National People's Congress
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
PR	<u>Peking Review</u> , Beijin.
RMRB	<u>Renmin Ribao</u> (People's Daily), Beijin.
RMJY	<u>Renmin Jiaoyu</u> (People's Education), Beijin.
SCMM	<u>Selections from China Mainland Magazines</u> , United States Consulate General, Hong Kong.
SCMP	<u>Survey of China Mainland Press</u> , United States Consulate General, Hong Kong.
SR	<u>Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung</u> , Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1967.
SW	<u>Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung</u> , 5 Volumes, Peking Foreign Languages Press, 1966 (Vols. I-IV), 1977, (Vol. V).
WB	<u>Wenhui Bao</u> , Shanghai.
YCL	Young Communist League.

ROMANIZATION OF CHINESE NAMES OF PERSONS AND PLACES
AND CHINESE TYPICAL PHRASES

Spelling of Chinese names of persons and places, slogans and phrases is based mainly on the official standardized Chinese phonetic alphabets, the PINYIN system.

However, based on the official version published in Beijing Review, No.1 (January 5, 1979), pp 18-20, a specific rule requires that the traditional spelling of historical places and events, persons such as Confucius, Sun Yat-Sen need not be changed. So, the old spelling based on the Wade-Giles system is also used especially when referring to China before 1949.

For example:

<u>The Pinyin spelling</u>	<u>Wade-Giles transliteration</u>
Mao Zedong	Mao Tse-tung
Zhou Enlai	Chou En-lai
Hua Guofeng	Hao kuo-feng
Deng Xiaoping	Teng Hsiao-p'ing
Hu Yaobang	Hu Yao-pang
Zhu De	Chu Teh
Beijing	Peking
Yanan	Yenan
Guangxi	Kiangsi
Guangzhou	Canton

Chinese names and particular phrases are put in parentheses in the text where necessary for reference, but Chinese terms are listed in the Appendix.

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INTRODUCTION

Since the 19th Century meeting with the West, China has been faced with the problem of how to change so that it might survive as a modern sovereign nation but yet retain its essential Chinese identity. This, however, poses a fundamental conceptual problem of what it meant by being 'Chinese' and at the same time 'modern'.

Since 1842, the signing of the Treaty of Nanking, China has been engaged in revolutions in one form or another to bring about the kind of change which would best serve the country. The revolutionary movement began as an attempt to rid the country of the Manchu rulers who were not only foreign but also had shown themselves incapable of preserving the country's integrity. The Taiping Rebellion of 1850¹ combined religious, social and nationalistic sentiments² to replace the Manchu Dynasty. Though corruption and disintegration brought the collapse of the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo) in 1864, many of the Taiping Rebellion's principles and revolutionary reforms³ provided a definite stimulus and model for later movements. The Boxer Rebellion of 1900⁴ was both anti-dynastic and anti-foreign. It, too, ended with the intervention of allied troops and the signing of the Boxer Protocol in 1901. The continuation of China's decline and humiliation made it clear that the only feasible way of restoring the country to strength and prosperity was to adopt new political ideas and new ways of government. The 1911 Revolution finally gave China her first republic, which, haunted by civil war and the Japanese invasion, failed to give to the people what it had promised. In 1949, the Chinese Communists succeeded in establishing the People's Republic. They were determined to replace the traditional

ethos and its social system with a new political ideology, Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, and a new system of political and social organization, which, they believed, was the best solution to unite the nation and transform China into a modern socialist state.

The Communist Party leaders spoke frequently of the 'sinification of Marxism' in terms of "integrating the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution."⁵ The product of which is the system of Mao Zedong thought. This, it has been claimed has been and still is being used by the ruling members of the CCP to guide them in analysing Chinese society and its problems, as well as formulating programmes for national development. So, if the new ideology is to guide the course of China's development, where in fact is China moving and has socialist construction (Chinese modernization) taken on a different meaning? To assume that it refers only to sheer economic growth and technical innovations, or to another political victory, e.g. when after 1976 the pragmatic 'right-moderates' defeated the Maoist 'left-radicals' by arresting the Gang of Four, explains neither the source of the conflicts nor the course of change. The development of Chinese Communism and the evolution of Chinese Communist education requires an understanding of the complexities of Chinese cultural and social orientations which have shaped the course of modern Chinese history.

The thesis attempts to locate the source of major conflicts, to map out the course of social change in China and finally to indicate the trend of China's future educational development. It is anticipated that the study will elucidate the ideological contradictions both within the CCP and among the people in the process of policy-making. Ultimately, more efficient planning at the national level would

facilitate implementation at the local level.

A few assumptions underlying the analysis need to be spelt out as major premises on which ideology is discussed in this study.

Firstly, ideology is taken as a comprehensive pattern of cognitive and moral belief with action consequences. However, it does not arise in a vacuum but in the midst of an ongoing culture. It is a response to an insufficient regard for some particular element in the dominant outlook, and it attempts to place the 'neglected' element in a more central position and eventually bring it into practical realization. So, a new ideology requires a cultural tradition from which to deviate and to draw the elements which it intensifies and raises to centrality.⁶ Therefore, there are bound to be substantive affinities between the moral and cognitive orientations of Chinese Communist ideology and the outlooks and creeds in the Chinese cultural tradition. Since ideology contends for the realization of the 'ideal' usually through a total transformation of society, it is not uncommon that the exponents of an ideology stress differences between their ideas and other prevailing outlooks and at the same time disavow any affinity with them. Since 1949, there have been significant departures from previous patterns of values, but some old concepts have also persisted in defiance of the new. Despite the repeated efforts of the Communist leadership to re-educate the people in the new socialist morality, ideological links with the past sustain and continue to influence people's behaviour. It is not possible for the Chinese to sever their strong ties with the past nor will they ever do so. The enigma of Chinese development in the long run lies in the crucial issue of "how the past will be used to serve the future", through reconciliation with and not refutation of the past.

Secondly, 'Chinese Communist ideology' is basically political. The evaluation of authority is central to its ideological outlook which in fact dominates all other considerations. And its legitimacy lies in its ultimately right principles. Of course, it also depends upon the perception of the 'rightfulness' of those in authority within the institutional system. The CCP has to justify its authority, strengthen its power and verify its 'rightfulness'. The Chinese people in turn need to see order in the world in which they live so as to render acceptable practices ascribed to them in society. As long as the CCP can satisfy the people of their cognitive need for order, for a meaning in their own position in the world and their own share of the good and evil in life, it will retain its legitimacy. Hence, the ideas, attitudes and goals of the leading decision-making individuals and groups within the CCP determine to a large extent what function education is expected to perform. This, however, is not to deny the existence of underlying impersonal forces and laws of history of which the leaders might presumably be the mere instruments. B.I. Schwartz⁷ once claimed that to regard what the leaders say as completely irrelevant to their behaviour is as arbitrary as to say that Mao's thought is the embodiment of the world's historic forces. So, what the leadership says is a factor of decisive importance in mapping out the course of the evolution of contemporary Chinese education and the degree to which its policies were frustrated by unforeseen circumstances. An investigation of this phenomenon is central to this research.

Thirdly, ideologies are never completely consistent with the facts of experience which they claim to interpret. The Chinese Communist ideology, too, contains inconsistencies, ambiguities and gaps. Thus

it has been reflected in the continuous disputes among party members who espoused different ways of filling the gaps and clarifying the ambiguities. They each claimed that their way represents the 'correct' interpretation of the unchanged and unchangeable principles. Efforts to resolve the arguments always arouse antagonism from either the more radical exponents of the ideology or those who adhere to the previously dominant interpretations. The triumph of one of the contending groups, the innovators or the orthodox, brings about new emphases and change in the ideology. The constant reversals in China's educational policies resulting from a shift of emphasis of national development objectives record the changes. Moreover, the pressure of external reality also forces the CCP to revise their ideas and to make them fit the 'facts' which have imposed themselves. Fissures among members of the ideological groups sometimes do accompany this struggle to cope with the impregnability of the real world.

As ideology develops, it also brings about other changes.⁸ Most ideologies intend, in the first place, to disrupt the central institutions and value systems that are in conflict with them; the Chinese Communist ideology aimed, at least in the beginning under Mao's instruction, at the total destruction of the 'traditional feudalistic values and institutions'. However, the success of the CCP in acquiring power did not necessarily mean that it was capable of completely and enduringly suppressing the previously dominant outlooks. Indeed, the new ideology still has to contend with strong attachments to the other prevailing value systems and those elements holding on to the old values always reassert themselves when opportunity arises. The Chinese Communist leadership has been confronted with great obstacles in implementing their policies. Besides, the multiplicity of alternative

interpretations causes some ruling members of the CCP to adopt ideas quite different from Mao's proclaimed system of thought. Resistance from the public demands compromise and further adaptation. At its best, this kind of resistance heightens the consciousness of the leaders to the moral and cognitive needs of the people without threatening their control, the new ideology is thus able to change features of the old order and culture.

The Central Committee of the CCP has, since 1949, consistently adopted a series of policies to promote socialist educational development by putting politics in command, combining education with productive labour, integrating theory with practice, adopting the principle of the mass line under the leadership of the Party, etc. But effective implementation of policies requires co-operation and support from people at all levels. However, the major participants, namely the workers, peasants, intellectuals, professionals and the so-called 'bourgeoisie', continue to retain most of the 'scholar-gentry' values of scholarship. Some educated people adhere to western concepts of liberal and individualistic education which they learned abroad before 1949. These ideas and values continue to dominate and influence the behaviour of the majority of the people. Thus conflicts arise between various people within the education system as well as between the educational workers and the people in the other sectors, especially the politicians and cadres.

Therefore, the main concern of the study lies in assessing the difficulties which Mao and his supporters had in creating a new ideology against the traditional norms and values which still influence the Chinese people's thinking and behaviour. They include not only some members of the CCP, but also the majority of the Chinese people. As a

result, at least two types of clash can be postulated: the first is the struggle of party policy against the aspirations of the people; the second is a political struggle for domination among the members of the politburo - the fight between the Maoists and Rightists throughout the last three decades.

For the purpose of systematic analysis, two ideal typical models representing the major normative patterns in Chinese society have been constructed. Among the other 'hundred schools of thought', Confucius' thinking is chosen as the traditional model because of its sustained dominance in Chinese classical and philosophical thinking. On the other hand, the Maoist model provides the theoretical framework for the formulation of policies under the new Communist regime. Theories of social change, of the individual, of society, and concepts of what constitutes knowledge and how it can be acquired, all contribute to the formulation of theories of and about education - e.g. how education ought to be organized. The two models are the basis of the intellectualization of the major educational problems.

There have been several major national debates on education during the past thirty years. Typical issues include arguments on popularization and the raising of educational standards, on equality and quality, on red and expert, as well as on theoretical and practical knowledge. During each debate, statements of different opinions have been articulated. There have always been the protagonists and their allies clinging strongly to the higher valuations in support of the policy adopted, while the antagonists have insisted on other possibilities. This demonstrates the existence of substantial contradictions among the CCP leadership and points to the source of conflict between the Party and the masses.

Indeed, the intimate link of Communist China with the 'old' China which the CCP endeavours to break, the influx of revolutionary communism to resist foreign aggression, the infiltration of 'revisionism', the legacy of the Cultural Revolution's philistinism, and the impetus of China's drive to modernize, all provide the basis of an analysis of the special political climate in which various educational problems arose.

Recent development has shown even more clearly that the Chinese people still cling to their traditional values, mainly the Confucian ethos. Even those who were attracted to Communist revolutionary ideas tend to return to the traditional outlook in resolving their daily problems, indicating, therefore, a high possibility of a reassertion of the previous ideologies. Thus, the success of China's modernization depends largely on how far the major contradictions which existed could be resolved. Instead of persisting in rejecting the 'old culture', certain aspects of the traditional beliefs and values will have to be reconsidered. There ought to be a compromise between change and cultural continuity. The new long march to raise China's economic, technical and military capabilities has to be accompanied by the raising of the people's cultural level and their sense of a historical and cultural identity. After all, the people will ultimately decide whether to move and where to.

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PART ONE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER ONE : PROBLEM ANALYSIS

1.1 A definition of the relationship between ideology and education

Studies of the relationships between activities within the educational system and the political and social setting in which they are situated have indicated that many of the problems related to educational development are closely linked with the particular conditions in the other sectors of society. For example, when Henry Levin reviewed the effects of large-scale educational interventions by the government trying to reduce economic inequality through reforms in curriculum and teaching, he concluded that:

Educational policies that are aimed at resolving social dilemmas that arise out of the basic malfunctioning of the economic, social and political institutions of the society are not amenable to solution through educational policy and reform. The leverage available to the most benevolent educational reformer and policy specialist is limited by the lack of a constituency for change and the overwhelming momentum of the educational process in the direction of social reproduction of the existing polity. And, there is a deleterious result in our efforts if educational attempts to change society tend to direct attention away from the focus of the problem by creating and legitimating the ideology that schools can be used to solve problems which did not originate in the educational sector. (1977)¹

Though Levin's concern was mainly economic reproduction, there are others who concentrate on the social reproduction of values, norms and dispositions that are transmitted by the cultural apparatus of a society with school and its hidden curriculum as part of the whole mechanism. While the issue of reproduction is still highly arguable, their studies did point to the fact that educational analysis may require a more coherent theory of the social and economic polity of which education is a part.

Most educationists have gone beyond the conventional practice of looking only at how a student acquires more knowledge to a new horizon of questioning why and how knowledge is presented in schools, or simply what schools do.

The argument that education was not a neutral enterprise sustains in terms of its economic outcome when it refers to the assumption that schools contribute to both economic and cultural reproduction, and that educators, whether they are conscious of it or not, could not fully separate their educational activity from the institutional arrangements and forms of consciousness that dominate society.² So often social, economic and political tensions and contradictions are mediated in educational practices. In order to understand the mechanisms of this process of mediation, it is useful to look at not only the relationship between education and the economic structure, but also the linkage between knowledge and power, both knowledge that is made available as well as not available to students. Prevalent structural arrangements, especially institutional, have a direct effect on the cultural life of the community; this includes schooling, teaching and the curricula. The ways in which schools select and organize knowledge is dialectically related to both the normative and conceptual consciousness 'required' by the very society in which they are situated. Therefore, in order to understand what schools do, it is important to explicate the relationships between overt and covert knowledge taught in schools, the principles of selection and organization of that knowledge, and above all, the criteria and modes of evaluation used to 'measure success' in teaching.

Bowles and Gintis³ focused on the investigation of the economic role of education, the analysis of issues of mobility, selection and reproduction

of division of labour. The determining element is conscious economic manipulation. They were more concerned with the outcome than the process itself. Cicourel and Kituse would argue that school is a mechanism of social stratification by showing that there are correlations between school achievements and social types. They pointed out that:

The rationalization of the school system through the incorporation of the concepts and methods of psychiatry, psychology and the social sciences, has legitimized the relevance of personal and social factors for the interpretation of the 'objective' measures of the student's ability and performances. Such factors are explicitly acknowledged as educationally relevant and incorporated into a complex system of organized policies and procedures.⁴

Both stressed the importance of investigating the process of social mobility at the level of the day-to-day organizational activities in which often unstated rules of mobility are defined and the direction and rate of progress through the system are controlled. Therefore, they suggested possible areas of research into the organizationally defined activities of the school personnel as well as the characteristics of the individuals within the system.

On the other hand, Bernstein⁵ and Young⁶ maintain that the structuring of knowledge and symbol in educational institutions is intimately related to the principles of social and cultural control in society. They stress the usefulness of looking into the relationship between control of the form and content of culture and the growth of economic institutions and practices.

Three aspects in education should be distinguished and dealt with in relation to a larger context of society in which they are situated. They are the school being considered as an institution, the various

forms of knowledge, and above all, the educators themselves as active participants in the whole educational process.

Firstly, there is the assumption that education participates in the process of economic reproduction. It entails the notion that schools preserve and distribute not only economic property, but also the symbolic property of cultural capital. Schools, like other institutions of cultural preservation and distribution, such as the family, the definition and organization of work, the selective tradition, create and recreate certain forms of consciousness that enable social control to be maintained. However, if the school is part of a system of mechanism for cultural and economic reproduction, then changing the practices of education through teacher training, curricular innovations, etc., would solve most of the problems. But the process of cultural and economic reproduction is related to a whole 'assemblage of values and actions' outside the institutions of schooling, the whole social order. An appraisal of the role of education requires the situation of knowledge, the school, and the educator within real social conditions which determine these elements. It is important to see social activity as tied to the larger arrangements of institutions and that educational activities are given meaning rationally by their complex links to how a society is organized and controlled. Relations themselves are the defining characteristics, and relational analysis is basic to devising a methodology for studying ideology and education. In this case, it would be the relationship between ideology and the curriculum, ideology and educational argumentation, all of which have significant implications for curriculum development as well as educational theory and policy-making.

Secondly, based on Bourdieu's theory of reproduction⁷ by analyzing the

cultural rules (habitus) that link economic and cultural control and distribution together, the cultural capital, as he argued, stored in schools, acts as an effective filtering device in the reproduction of an hierarchical society. Underlying this argument is the notion that schools recreate the social and economic hierarchies of the larger society through what is seemingly a neutral process of selection and instruction, and schools contribute to inequality outside these institutions. If education does play a mediating role between the individual's consciousness and society at large, then schools 'process' not only knowledge but also people. They act as agents of cultural and ideological hegemony,⁸ or as Raymond Williams called it, as agents of selective tradition and cultural incorporation.⁹

Thirdly, the concept of ideology, being both related to the structuring of society and its stratification and the sociology of knowledge, becomes an appropriate focus of investigation, especially in the context of the special frame of reference on which national policies on education are formulated. Since the educational system can be viewed as functioning not only to distribute but also to reproduce ideas, values, norms and ideologies. So, it is useful to look at the ideas or ideology that support particular policies as well as those that criticize and reject them. Politics might play an important part in engineering change or maintaining no-change in society; solutions to educational problems have to be sought not only within the education system itself, but also outside the system in the other sectors of society.

It is not within the scope of this study to go into the discussion of arguing that ideology contains distorted ideas or ideology is a

selection of ideas in defence of the status quo or a social system, as in the case of the Marxist definition of 'capitalist ideology'. However, it is the function of ideology¹⁰ which makes ideology relevant to the study. Since ideology defines situations and justifies a particular course of action, it contributes to simplify complex situations and helps diverse people to cooperate towards shared goals. Moreover, ideology helps to achieve greater integration or greater adaptive capacity within a social system, despite the anticipation of desirable as well as undesirable resistance to social pressure for change.

It has been claimed that official knowledge represents the ideological configurations of the dominant political interest in a society. And schools actually legitimate these limited and partial standards of knowing as unquestioned truth. This has been the case in China since 1949. The Chinese Communist ideology, no doubt, is the basis for all options and explanations of the phenomena. Schools in China are expected to contribute to enabling students to learn the dominant Communist ideology. Specific forms of curricular knowledge are instructed to reflect the configurations of the political ideology. Even the educational workers are expected to employ the fundamental perceptions of dialectical materialism to order, guide and give meaning to their own activity. In China, schools and all other educational institutions have been designated as agents of transmission of the dominant political culture. But if what is learned or taught is merely an imposed ideology, and if it were only the isolated meanings and practices of the CCP, or rather the politburo of the CCP, which are imposed on the people, forming the explicit 'high valuations'¹¹, it would easily be subjected to refutation from the grass-root level where

people define their reality in terms of their direct experience and cultural experience. In many ways, schools in China are overtly recognised to be the agents of 'cultural and ideological' hegemony in favour of the CCP, but the intricate reality is that while schools are transmitting the dominant political ideology, they also reproduce the 'effective dominant culture' of old China, as in the hidden curricula. In the theory of cultural and ideological hegemony, there is also the important aspect of selective tradition and cultural incorporation closely linked with the social order. Ignoring the influence of the latter would mean discarding the very dynamics of cultural and economic reproduction.

An investigation of the interconnections between ideology and educational argumentations in the later chapters will exemplify the relationship between educational thought and practice. No society can exist without a cognitive, moral and expressive culture. Its standards of truth, beauty and goodness are inherent in the structure of social action. The culture which generates from the needs of the people and which is transmitted and sustained by traditions is part of the very constitution of that society. If China were to acquire a 'new socialist culture', it would have to be one which is based on China's past and the 'old' Chinese culture. The Chinese Communist ideology will influence or bring about certain changes in people's ideas and outlooks, but it cannot supplant its cultural heritage, the very breeding ground of ideology itself.

2. The Chinese Dilemma & The Dialectical

Relationship between Ideology and Chinese Systems of Thinking

In the development of Chinese intellectual history, it is necessary to distinguish between ideology and systems of thinking. Systems of thinking generally comprise philosophical, ethical, religious and social ideas. Some prefer to look at religion and social theory as ideology. But in the history of philosophy, systems of thinking and ideology are theoretically different and they should be differentiated at least conceptually as having their own independent but conflicting territories.

First of all, there is a mutually dependent relationship between thinking and learning. Thought itself covers all the results of fundamental systematic study and reasoning about reality. Thus, all Western classical philosophy, medieval Christianity, modern science and Chinese studies of the ancient sages, the classical learning of Han, Taoism of Wei and Jin, Buddhism of Sui and Tang, neo-Confucianism of Song Ming could all be broadly included in the realm of 'thought'. According to modern classification they might be qualitatively different in their philosophical tradition, but in one way they are similar - they are all systematic intellectual inquiry about 'reality' (it could be the ultimate, the metaphysical or the transcendental reality) and 'phenomena' (it can be natural, social or mental phenomena). The Chinese has used the compound word of 'intellectual-thinking' rather than just 'thought', as each of these has its own philosophical approach as well as its own system of learning. As Confucius explained, "learning without thought is vain, thought without learning is perilous".¹³

There are great differences in emphasis between Chinese and Western cultural or intellectual traditions in looking at learning and thinking. In the West, there is a tradition of critical enquiry which is firmly established in abstract and systematic reasoning. Though there is no one single formula to define philosophy, it has been generally accepted that philosophical thinking covers epistemology (theory of knowledge as well as types of knowledge), metaphysics, ethics and logic, which includes philosophical theory of logic and semantics, the theory of meaning as well.¹⁴

In a way, it could be said that philosophy is thought about thought, it should be distinguished from other kinds of 'first-order' thinking about particular parts or aspects of what there is, such as science, history etc., whose ideas and methods and findings constitute the subject matter of philosophy.

Whereas the Chinese intellectual tradition is more substantive and practical. Since it does not stress the relationship between man and his system of thought, its interest does not lie in the study of the tools of reasoning, i.e. logic or epistemology. A contemporary Chinese philosopher, Jin Yeulin (金岳霖), pointed out that when compared to Western philosophy, Chinese philosophy is characteristic of its "under-development in logical-epistemological consciousness"¹⁵, and Chinese philosophers tend to express their ideas through a substantive historical or cultural experience. Confucius emphasized both learning and thinking; he strongly rejected 'empty or abstruse thinking' (possibly abstract thinking), which was divorced from the reality of human affairs. He said, "I have been the whole day without eating, the whole night without sleeping but occupied in thinking. It was of no use, it is better to learn".¹⁶

The Chinese way is 'to make learning contain thinking' (寓思於學) - to cultivate thinking in the process of learning. On the other hand, the Western tradition 'use thinking to manage learning' (以思馭學) by developing learning in the process of thinking. However different the two approaches may be, thinking and learning are closely related. Western philosophy is generally integrated with either religion or science. Using rational thinking to discover and explain the mystery of 'god' or the universe, philosophers like Plato and Aristotle sought answers to reality and truth within the perimeter of critical rationality.¹⁷

However, within the Chinese tradition of 'making learning contain thinking', there is the absence of a disciplinary system both in thinking and learning. Knowledge, in general, is not organized according to its subject matter into separate systems. Though religion, science and philosophy are there in both the tradition of learning and thinking, they do not have the kind of disciplinary system which classifies them. In this case, thinking has not the problem of integrating itself with religion or science. Instead, Chinese learning and thinking is formed around the classics and literary records of the past. The well-known Seven Epitomes of Literature (七略), compiled by Liu-yin (劉歆) of the Han Dynasty, consisting of the classics, arts, philosophy, poetry, divination and numerics, medicine and surgery, and the Four Categories (四部) of classics, history, philosophy and collected works of literature, are, strictly speaking, classification of books rather than disciplines of studies as in the West.

Each stage or period of thinking in Chinese history is closely related to the studies of the classics and literary records of that time.

Ancient Confucianism was based on the study of the Book of Odes (詩) and the Canon of History (書), as well as the Six Arts (六藝), e.g. Rites, Music, Archery, Charioteering, Writing & Mathematics. Taoism of Wei and Jin Dynasties was founded on the writings of Lao Tzu, Chuang Tzu, and the Book of Change (I Ching). Buddhism of Sui and Tang Dynasties was based on the works of translations of Buddhist Scriptures from India. The three main schools of Buddhism: the Tien-tai (天台) philosophy was founded on the Lotus Scripture, the Hua-yen (華嚴) school based its teaching on Hua-yen Ching (the Flowery Splendour Scripture), only the Zen school (School of Meditation), as a movement to reform Buddhism, rejected the reliance on books or scriptures, but they too, in their later development, had their thinking centred on the Diamond Scripture.

Neo-Confucianism of Song and Ming Dynasties had its basis on the selected classics too.

During the Qing Dynasty, Tai Tung-yuan's (戴東原) investigation-based-on-evidence was developed from the studies of Confucius classics.¹⁸

Learning and thinking might have their own independent territories and objective foundations but, together, they had formed into a continuous tradition, the system of Chinese intellectual thinking.

In the Western tradition, the natural sciences, social sciences, philosophy, all have their own well-defined system of knowledge, their own objective criteria of verifying knowledge. External interference, including political and social changes, can temporarily affect their development, but it can never destroy the inner law or pattern of knowledge itself. Any significant change in a discipline of learning - the scientific revolution - has to come from its own ontological logic. All other external factors are secondary and marginal. Chinese studies of the classics and histories are different from the Western academic disciplines, but they, too, have acquired a system of inner laws and objective standards. All systems of thinking reflect on the intellectual climate of that particular period, they sometimes persist as part of the total valuation of all times. The characteristic of thinking in

transcending the mere limits of time, claiming its universal quality, makes it essentially different from ideology.

Both the system of thinking and the system of learning are formed in relation to a cultural system. The main cultural systems all had their systems of thought and learning fixed around the ancient period when philosophy had its 'breakthrough' - producing a special way of looking at nature, human relations, society and religion, and they each had their own 'language' and conceptions to describe this 'reality'. Differences in outlooks may come from the variations in emphasis of the stage of their cultural development. The Chinese, especially the ancient Chinese, concentrated on enquiry into human nature and human relationships. Most of the systems of thought and learning are contained in the 'classics', and the kind of language and concepts in them have become the model which others that followed continued to use to describe the world, to explain it, or even to change it. For example, the Chinese terms of 'dao' (the Way), 'yin and yang', represent different concepts which are particular to its culture. This is more so in the systems of thought about morals and society. Confucius and Mencius both talked extensively about 'ren' and 'yi' (benevolence and righteousness), Socrates and Plato spoke about 'justice', and these terms and their meaning have remained central issues in both Chinese and Western thinking.

Systems of thought and learning may have their patterns formed in their cultural traditions; they can also change and thus acquire their own history of development. Interactions of culture always bring about change, though they vary in degrees. The Western model of the natural sciences has generally been accepted by most countries all over the world, but there has yet to be a unifying system, common to most

cultures of the world. On the other hand, the Western model has been used internationally as a system of classification of subjects or areas of studies in terms of academic disciplines like sociology, political sciences, psychology, economics, ethics, history and philosophy. This uniformity, until the present time, is restricted only to the aspect of form. When it comes to the content, each culture has its own interpretation of the subject concerned. One good example is that Western analytical philosophers seldom acknowledge that there is any element of 'philosophy' at all in Chinese philosophy; on the other hand, Chinese philosophers find it very difficult to include analytical philosophy or technical philosophy as part of philosophy. This is not so much a matter of prejudice, but rather a mistake to employ the term 'philosophy' and its definition in Western culture to discuss Chinese philosophy or system of thinking and learning. Each system of thinking has its own way of development in relation to its cultural tradition and physical environment, and it has to be understood in terms of its history and conceptualization. This definitely applies to the concepts of ideology in each culture.

What is ideology then? How is it different from philosophy or systems of thought in the Chinese sense? And above all, what is the Chinese Communist ideology?

Sociologists, psychologists, epistemologists and anthropologists or even people engaged in the studies of hermeneutics have provided their own explanation of ideology.

Marx and Engels¹⁹ used ideology to analyze the ways in which systems of ideas appeared to depend on social positions, particularly class positions of their proponents. To illustrate this particular

relationship, they said:

The mode of production in material life determines the general character of the social, political and spiritual processes of life. It is not the consciousness of men that determines their existence, but on the contrary, their social existence determines their consciousness.²⁰

And ideology is referred to as the outlook of the dominating class of a time, and only the ideas of the ruling class, those controlling the economic means of production are being represented.

What else does the history of ideas prove, than that intellectual production changes its character in proportion as material production is changed? The ruling ideas of each age have ever been the ideas of its ruling class.²¹

Based on these formulations, according to the Marxists, the function of ideology lies in the defence of class privileges and in the distortions and falsifications of ideas that came from the privileged class position of the bourgeois thinkers. Therefore, the defenders of the status quo were inevitably given to false consciousness; while their critics, being affiliated with the emerging working class, were exempted from such distorting influences and hence had access to "true consciousness", the undistorted historical truth.

Marx's contribution lies in his analysis of the profound relationship which links ideas with the structure of society, especially class structure. He also left behind a trail of questions concerning, for example, whether all systems of thinking or learning (other than natural sciences) are all ideologies related to class? Is it possible that they also have an objective basis? Is ideology necessarily the possession of the dominating class of the time alone? In any period of history, there are always other 'schools of thoughts' which would directly or indirectly challenge the orthodox way of thinking, are

these ideologies too? Other than the society, or social structure, can there be any other sources from which ideology is formed?

Karl Mannheim saw the weakness in Marx and Engel's argument of being unable to clarify the 'other systems of ideas' which advocate the changing of the status quo. In his own intellectual construction, he allowed for the probability that all ideas, including 'truths' were related to, and hence influenced by, the social and historical situations from which they emerged. The very fact that each thinker is affiliated with particular groups in society, that he occupies a certain status and enacts certain roles, inevitably affects his intellectual outlook. This is the foundation of Mannheim's theory of the social or existential conditioning of thought.

All knowledge and all ideas, although to different degrees, are bound to a location within the social structure and historical process, however, 'existential determination' (Seinsverbundenheit) is not total determination, "the ultimate criterion of truth or falsity is to be found in the investigation of the object."²²

And in relation to the present discussion in defining ideology, his differentiation of ideologies is useful. Mannheim classified the different 'styles of thought' into 'particular' ideologies - sets of ideas which have achieved integration within single human beings or ideas which represent the self-interests of specific groups, and the category of 'total' ideologies - where integration takes place within a class, society or age, at a level above that of the individual. He once commented that, "it was Marxist theory which first achieved a fusion of the particular and total conception of ideology ... Marxism was able to go beyond the mere psychological level of analysis

and posit the problem in a more comprehensive, philosophical setting". Roughly speaking, Mannheim's particular conception bears resemblance to the Chinese differentiation between 'lilun' (theory) and 'sixiang' (thought), and the concept of 'zhuyi' (doctrine): in the present time, the CCP has specified in the Constitution that Marxism-Leninism is mainly 'lilun' and Mao Zedong thought is 'sixiang', and together they form the Chinese Communist ideology or 'zhuyi'. The Chinese use it as a differentiation between pure and practical ideology. Pure ideology has a quality of universality, whereas practical ideology embodies ideas directly related to practice, acquiring, therefore, the quality of being particular or specific. Without pure ideology, practical ideology has no legitimacy; on the other hand, practical ideology enables an organization to transform its 'weltanschauung' into consistent action. Marxism-Leninism, in this case, is considered as pure ideology, and Mao Zedong thought is the practical ideology. When Mannheim only tried to analyze the formulation of ideology, the CCP attempts to draw up boundaries of ideology, taking the development of ideology in a very different direction.

However, the main question of setting the boundaries of ideology continued in the intellectual debate. Louis Althusser claims, for example, that other than the dialectical materialism of Marxism, all the other philosophies are ideologies. He divides Marx's thinking into two stages: before 1845, in the writing of German Ideology, which he considers as the epistemological breakthrough, Marx's ideas were very much an ideology. For him, Marxism is the true philosophy, and the true science. On the other hand, according to the classical Marxists, ideology does not disappear with the so-called "epistemological breakthrough", ideology continues to exist as long as society exists.

Even in socialist or communist societies, there are still ideologies, only that they will represent perhaps the interests of the proletariat, or the 'people' in Chinese Communist terms.

- Michel Foucault is one who regards philosophical thinking and ideology almost as one and the same thing. His book on the history of Western thinking is like a history of the rise and fall of ideologies. To him, it seems that there is no continuity in the history of thinking: it is but a process of one episode of discourse or 'discursive formation' following the other, and there need not be any real internal connection between the different stages. Though later on, in another book called *The Order of Things*²⁴, he discusses the development of human sciences since the 17th Century by moving away from the traditional historical approach and using the notion of the deep structure of culture. It is significant to point out that turning philosophical thinking into ideologies finally denies the fact that man has the ability or reasoning power to know the 'truth'. If knowledge is rid of its objectivity and neutrality, knowledge and power can become one and the same thing in any social process, the former being only 'symbolic'. In the context of the Marxist version, reality is not a question of knowledge being true or false, it becomes a matter of its being legitimate or
- illegitimate within the definition of the power relationship of that particular political and social system. In all societies, there is a set standard for truth. Intellectuals, scholars or scientists alike can never represent the real 'conscience' of society, as they cannot detach themselves from the society and be totally 'disinterested'. But they can be 'specific', though perhaps not 'universal', as one's opinion is often restricted by one's knowledge and experience. To follow through this argument of denying the objectivity of reasoning,

truth or values, extreme relativism tends to treat knowledge as a kind of ideology which is inseparable from power relations. It is likely that relativism itself in this instance is being refuted in its own process of relativization. Simply, how can it guarantee that in itself it is not the same thing as the other 'ideologies' which it first set out to criticize? German theorists are looking seriously into the problem in their critique of ideology. They are trying to salvage Western philosophical thinking from falling too deeply into the trap of extreme scepticism, to reinstate the positive value of 'truth' and rationality, and most significantly of all, the differentiation of philosophical thinking from ideology.

Other than the emphasis on the formulation of ideology or ideas and its set boundaries from other systems of thinking, the European tradition has always focused on the production of ideas, with the axiomatic assumption that different strata of society produce different types of ideas. On the other hand, American schools tend to concern themselves more with the consumption of ideas, and the ways in which different strata of society use standardized thought products in terms of public opinion and mass communication. In whichever direction the debate develops, it can be said that ideology exists in every culture and every society. It is directly related to the particular cultural and social order, and it represents a kind of 'collective' rather than individual thinking. In other words, the ruling class or revolutionary groups can have their own ideology; the difference is that the former tends to support and preserve the status quo, while the latter attempt to break up the old social order and replace it by a new order. Studies have shown that ideology is not just what Marx said as representing only the interest of the dominating class. On the

contrary, it represents very complicated social phenomena, including the social order, class structure, shared interests, and the particular status or role of the individual. In the twentieth century, with the development of industry and technology, society has taken a more complex form and structure. Marx's economic-class basis of analysis is not sufficient to explain the issues surrounding ideology at present. The structure of capitalist societies now is far different from that of the nineteenth or mid-nineteenth century. The emergence of a new class, the 'technocracy' for example, in a socialist society is beyond the vision of Marx. Besides, many ideologies did not arise from the basis of class, but rather nationalism, and have to be understood in a very different kind of perspective.²⁵

Ideology should not be mixed or confused with philosophical thinking. Though they cannot be distinguished easily in practice, they should be differentiated at least on the conceptual level. Studies in the West have shown or defined ideology's relation with society, the latter being the root of ideology. But it is arguable that in another society, ideology also has its foundation deeply rooted in the tradition of philosophical thinking, and in culture.

The function of ideology lies in its persuasive impact on the public, or some special groups in society, in order to guide them or mobilize them eventually toward collective social action. Therefore, it has to suit the interests of certain groups of people; first it is supposed to arouse the emotions of the team or group, then to gain their belief. This belief in an ideology has to be based on what these people as a group would regard as 'truth' or true knowledge and thinking. Here the intellectual climate of the time would definitely instruct or influence popular thinking. In the nineteenth century, natural sciences enjoyed

a higher position in the academic world, so most of the more influential ideologies claimed their basis in science. For example, there was the adaptation of Darwin's theory of evolution to explain the development of society. The theory of evolution is a scientific theory, but 'social Darwinism' became one of the most convincing ideologies. Perhaps intellectual thinking, with its divided territories, is also a foundation which is necessary for the formulation of all ideologies. Recent attention has been drawn to investigate the relation between ideology and theoretical or sociological implication, assuming basically the notion that they are related, though separate.

Then, how to define this particular relation between ideology and thinking or learning? Daniel Bell²⁶ has suggested that thinking or learning is the very substance or the primary element, and ideology is the 'utility', the secondary element. And the purpose of ideology is to turn a system of thinking into a driving force for social action. Or using the concept that the whole tradition of thinking is considered as 'high culture', the higher level of thought, then ideology is identified as the 'low culture' or popular thought. Many anthropologists and historians believe that the latter is a disguised form of the former; therefore, ideology often appears in a 'distorted' or lesser form.

As far as the Chinese traditional experience is concerned, this process of diffusion is especially true, such as Confucianism in Chinese historical and philosophical development. The classics of the first Confucianists, Confucius himself, Mencius and Hsun Tzu could be regarded as belonging to that level of high culture, whereas the official ideology of the Han Dynasty which was based on the principle of the 'three-relationships' between the emperor, father and husband,

and the 'five constant virtues' of benevolence, righteousness, propriety, knowledge and sincerity, together with the emphasis on the duty of man, formed the low culture or the popular thought. This particular ideology had its origin in the classics of the pre-Qin period (before 221 B.C.), but within it there were already elements of 'distortion' in the process of its politization and popularization. It would be a grave mistake to assume that the ideology of the 'three relationships' and 'five constant virtues' is equivalent to that of the classical thinking of the pre-Qin period. Confucianism of the pre-Qin period in a way was the theoretical foundation from which the official ideology of the Han period was drawn. In the same way, Confucianism was also the basis of other unofficial, critical and contending ideologies throughout the period of Chinese history. The Kung Yang School had formulated a way of interpreting the Book of the Spring and Autumn Annuals (Chun-chiu), Tung Chungshu's (董仲舒) discussion of the Revolution of the Shang, or the theory of succession to the throne by abdication, etc., had their origins in earlier classical Confucianism.

This differentiation is important in understanding the development of modern Chinese thinking. One of the characteristics of modern Chinese thinking is its separation of ideology from the traditional system of thinking. Since the end of the nineteenth century, internal unrest and external disturbance created a crisis which went beyond the sphere of traditional thinking in terms of perceiving the situation and resolving the real problems. Previous classical learning, historical studies, neo-Confucianism, nor the textual criticisms of the Qing Dynasty could explain or satisfy the need of the people at that time. Therefore, people 'looked to the West in search for the truth', which was actually

a search for a way to make China rich and strong. At that time, Chinese intellectuals had very little understanding of the system of Western classical thinking. What they had acquired was mainly an informative understanding of the different kinds of popularized ideologies. Yen Fu (嚴復) introduced to China some popular writings of Western philosophers like Mill, Spencer and Montesquieu by translating their works. Kang Yu-wei (康有為), Tan Ssu-tung (譚嗣同), tried to combine some popular Western concepts to produce a new interpretation of the Chinese classics purely for the purpose of publicizing their ideas for reforms. It was more so throughout the May Fourth Movement, the advocacy for democracy and learning of science was essentially on the level of ideology. Even in the so-called "theoretical debate between science and taoism", science was treated as 'scientism', an ideology rather than a subject of philosophical enquiry. Due to war and social unrest, it was difficult for the studies of intellectual thinking to develop normally. And in addition, there were those who deliberately dissociated themselves from politics and society and sought refuge in the isolated tower of learning. There was, in fact, a breakdown in the communication between the two spheres of thinking and ideology.

Ideology is part of the social and cultural system. In the process of society changing from a traditional stage to a modernized one, ideology has the important function of setting the direction as well as motivating social action. Chinese Communist ideology seemed to have achieved that in 1949. Mao claimed that the source of his inspiration came from Engels, Marx, Lenin and Stalin. To a large extent, Mao's ideas have determined the directions in which Chinese thinking should be developed since 1949. Of his many works, the two essays *On Practice* (1937)²⁷ and *On New Democracy* (1940)²⁸ were most important. He defined the nature of

thinking in the former essay, and pointed out the future of Chinese traditional thinking in the latter.

Thinking in contemporary China, according to Mao, must be practical, scientific, democratic and popular, and the content of thinking has to be concerned mainly and solely about the practical uses for the masses. Since knowledge must come from practice, all abstract concepts, idealistic theories, and subjectivism of any kind are considered feudalistic and are to be totally rejected. Thinking, therefore, acquires its true meaning only in the discovery of solutions to practical problems, the development of thinking is the concrete development of society. By uniting thinking with production, thinking can then fulfil the function as described and also objective analysis can best be carried out in production.

When he referred to the treatment of the old culture, Mao instructed that the people "must separate all the rotten things of the ancient feudal ruling class from the ancient popular culture that is more democratic and revolutionary in character.....we must respect our own history and should not cut ourselves adrift from it". In 1957, the conference on Chinese philosophy was held from January 21 to 26, in which the nature of the history of Chinese philosophical heritage were vigorously debated. It is significant to note that the conference took place shortly before the "Let One Hundred Schools Contend" campaign during which relative freedom of thought was allowed. It appeared that the general consensus was that Chinese philosophy will continue, but it will be reconstructed and directed to practical problems for the benefit of the masses. Since Marxian philosophy was to dominate Communist China, Confucius, Chu Hsi (朱熹), Wang Yang-ming (王陽明), and others were branded as feudalists. However,

it is arguable that they, too, were primarily concerned with the solution of practical problems for all in their own time.²⁹

Despite his later self-criticism as being a member of the capitalist class, an idealist, and one who used the metaphysical method, the contemporary Chinese philosopher, Fung Yulan (馮友蘭), raised a point of great importance during the conference on the nature of the history of Chinese thinking; it was that so much effort had been put into settling the problem of the "struggle between materialism and idealism" in the history of Chinese thinking that they had only emphasized their conflicts and had paid no attention to "their mutual influence and mutual penetration". And he undoubtedly pursued the possibility of identifying two meanings, the abstract and the concrete, in most of the philosophical premises in the history of Chinese thinking. (Though he later changed the two meanings to general and specific.) At least he acknowledged the important relationship between the two. In this way, he had actually started discussion from philosophical premises, projecting the problem of continuing the Chinese philosophical heritage to that of understanding the meanings of those premises.

However, he was criticized later for his mistake of eliminating the "historical content and class characteristics of philosophical thought" and separating the history of philosophy from Marxism, and of opposing the theory of 'formal logic' by dividing thinking into categories". So, it was held that Mao Zedong thought itself would point the way to "continuing the Chinese philosophical heritage and unifying Marxian philosophy and the Chinese people's good traditions of thought". If it is true that the attitude of Marxists-Leninists toward the cultural heritage of the past is "to select its quintessence and to throw away

its dregs"³⁰; the question remains: what is its quintessence? And what are the dregs? More realistic is the question of who is or are concerned in determining which part of the heritage is democratic, scientific, and for the masses, therefore, to keep; and what is anti-democratic, anti-democratic, anti-science, and anti-people that which they have to abandon?

In the long struggle of the Chinese people in search of a new modern Chinese identity, the Chinese will have to face the real problem of defining and establishing a proper dialectical relationship between the official Party ideology - Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought - and the Chinese system of thinking and learning. So far, despite the effort of the Chinese Communists to seek a continuation of the cultural heritage through the method of a dialectical materialism, they have in fact separated ideology from thinking. They have concentrated on the study of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought as an ideology, and deliberately rejected the traditional Chinese system of thinking and learning by attacking it as 'revisionism' and 'rightism'. Clifford Geertz³¹ has suggested that ideology as a cultural system requires theoretical studies to guarantee proponents of an ideology from interpreting it in an extreme way. Theoretical studies provide a rational criterion for ideology to develop into social action. For ideology and thinking to develop into a proper dialectical relationship in turn requires in the first place the acknowledgement of the existence of a traditional Chinese system of thinking and learning and its intrinsic value. The Chinese Communist ideology should have its foundation in the Chinese culture and social order. Denying the value of the traditional system of thinking will leave the discourse on ideology at its superficial organizational level, it can hardly satisfy

the need of the people in pursuit of their historical and cultural identity.

Hegel spoke of the notion of the spirit of a people (Volksgeist) as an individualized totality distinguished by its morality and customs (Sittlichkeit) and bound together by a spirit which produces the various aspects of its life. Marx adopted this definition to show how the ideology of the dominant class, produced by and producing relations in society, but he sought to pass for the spirit of the people. Perhaps it is this spirit of a people which the Chinese should aim to work toward creating a new synthesis in contemporary Chinese ideology and thinking, and Confucianism is the basis of a traditional ideology against which, in creating a new ideology, Mao had to contend.

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CHAPTER TWO : METHODOLOGY

1. Weber's Ideal Types & Ideal Typical Models

Max Weber used the term 'ideal types' to denote entities which include types of actions, society, or institution as constructed hypothetically by an investigator from component elements with a view to making comparisons and to developing theoretical explanations; the components out of which a 'type' is constructed are empirically observable or historically recognized.¹

When Weber argued that culture is more the product of a historical rather than a natural process, he recognized that culture had its own uniqueness, therefore, the study of it could not be expected to yield universal laws. In search for a more empirical method, he exemplified the construction of heuristic models or ideal types, each of which accentuates a different aspect of a chosen phenomenon for study. Cultural objects and historical events require both interpretive (hermeneutic) and causal-historical understanding. Hence the objective conditions producing an event or a cultural objectivation had to be constructed from the 'outside' that which can show where possible how the causal chain produced the 'result' under analysis in that particular form, and not any other. However, it has to be traced from the 'inside' the logic of its meaning. This is to make causal-historical explanations "adequate at the level of meaning".

It is based on this methodology that the following two ideal types are being constructed, heuristically, in terms of the typical actions, meanings and orientations which could be ascribed to typical individual actors. Therefore, the definition of social action or activity is view-

ed as the ascription of such typical motivations to an 'individual' or a group whose actions are oriented to the other. And all the concepts such as the theory of education which follows from this are necessarily second order constructs. So the validity of a methodological precept is not a matter of truth, but of heuristic utility.

In order to take the advantage of reversing the emphasis from the specific to the most general statements of norms, the two 'rational constructs' are designed as Weber said, to "facilitate the presentation of an otherwise immensely multifarious subject matter":² the Confucian model and the model of Mao Zedong thought. Brian Holmes³ further develops the idea of 'rational constructs' by concentrating the discussion on the particular analysis and evaluation of the three philosophical issues of the nature of man, the nature of society and the nature of knowledge. They should provide the synthesised patterns against which the norms of the Chinese society can be viewed.

2.2 The Confucian Model

Throughout Chinese history, there have been different schools of thought. Each has had its independent course of development and exercised a certain amount of influence upon the political and social development of the Chinese people at different times in history. There were the so-called 'nine streams and ten schools'⁴ and others, including the doctrines of Buddhism⁵ and Christianity.⁶ However, Confucianism, or the teachings of Confucius was accepted and institutionalized by various governments in history as the ideology to govern and guide the Chinese people. For example, during the Han Dynasty (206 B.C. - A.D. 220), Confucianism was made the state orthodoxy with the banning of all the other 'hundred schools'. The influence of

Confucius and his teachings came to predominate in China and helped to shape and mould the social and political life of the Chinese people.

Doctrines of Confucius are exclusively ethico-anthropological, arising from a human-dynamic standpoint and relate solely to the temporal life. Among all things in this world, man is his own master and capable of attaining his own destiny.

The Chinese empire was kept in order only through the influence of virtuous rulers. Whilst Confucius lived in an age of chaotic confusion, the feudal system of Western Zhou Dynasty (1122 - 771 B.C.) was in its decline. The central government lost control over the feudal princes who had risen to power by annexing other small feudal states and made themselves kings and dukes. The political chaos was described by Mencius as:

Again, the world faced decay and principles of right government faded away. Perverse speech and oppressive deeds again became rife. There were instances of ministers who murdered their fathers...killed their kings and seized the throne....⁷

With a desire to restore order and justice, Confucius advocated a return to the 'ancient way of the sage kings'⁸ and propounded a theory of benevolent government based on the ancient model. He also taught a practical code of morals based on virtues which then formed the fundamental principles on which people should organize their life, within the family, in society and among the individuals. It could be said that Confucianism is basically humanistic in its doctrine about man, pragmatic in its approach to society and government, and essentially of this world in its matter. The teachings of Confucius are to be found in the writings of his disciples and their followers, they were included in the 'Confucian Classics' - the well-known 'Five Classics

and Four Books'.⁹ These are generally regarded as the canonical authorities on the doctrine of Confucius. However, Chinese scholars do not agree on the authenticity of the Confucius Classics.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the first fifteen books of the Analects are considered about the only reliable sources to study the ideas of Confucius himself.

a. The nature of man

Confucius's humanistic outlook of the world provides him with a doctrine of man in its various philosophical considerations in terms of the following three aspects of the nature and origin of man, his relation to nature and heaven as embodied in the concept of nature (xing), of man as an individual and his duty in personal cultivation to become the ideal man - junzi, and of man as a member of society and his relation to the family and the state by following the Way (dao).

The concept of nature (xing)

Confucius claimed that man is a product of heaven and earth, as are all other natural bodies, the difference being in the qualities they possess. However, man as he is, is considered above nature which in many ways is subjected to his influence and even dependent upon man.

- In the Doctrine of the Mean, it said:

What Heaven has conferred is called nature;
To act according to nature is the Way;
To cultivate the Way is through instruction.¹¹

Heaven (tian) is viewed as a divine power, a deism or as Providence. Heaven's will is the destiny of men and things, it gives form to their disposition and ethical tasks. Destiny (ming), therefore, is a given thing. Nevertheless, man stands free in regard to it. Will and desire are in the power of man and cannot be taken away from without. Man

may give up destiny or not accept it. Though man cannot influence the ordered course of the Way (dao), he can become a superior man by recognizing destiny.¹² Only the holy man or sage (shengren) has a nature so pure that it corresponds with its destiny. As for the rest, they tend to deviate from their nature and destiny. Confucius used the analogy of the natural crystal to describe the holy man, whilst for other men, only through grinding and polishing can they gain their proper lustre.¹³ Confucius himself arrived at the stage of knowing the heavenly destiny only when he was fifty years old.¹⁴ Nevertheless, the heavenly destiny is given to each man, forming the innermost quint-essence of human nature. It is man's duty to recognize this nature.

The Way (dao), originally meant a path, a road. But in the Analects, it is given an ethical connotation with a metaphysical implication. It refers to the particular 'way' man ought to take. It embodies a certain course, as well as distinct goals toward which the 'way' tends. The Way of man is to follow the Way of heaven, to explore fully one's nature towards the attainment of human perfection.

Sincerity is the Way of Heaven.
The attainment of sincerity is the way of man.
The holy man attains it instinctively and
without effort.¹⁵

Sincerity (cheng) is regarded as the beginning and end of things; without it, there would be nothing.¹⁶ It is through sincerity that self-completion is effected. Therefore, its way is that by which man must direct himself.

It is only he who possesses the most complete sincerity that can exist under heaven, who can develop his nature fully...he can then do the same to the nature of other men...to the nature of animals and things...assist the transforming and nourishing powers of Heaven and earth, with which together they form a ternion.¹⁷

This is what the doctrine of the Mean (zhong yong zhi dao) centres upon - the stage of perfect harmony, a total union of Heaven and man.

Let the state of equilibrium exist in perfection, and a perfect order will prevail throughout heaven and earth, and all things will be nourished and flourish.¹⁸

However, this union springs from within man. Unless he has acquired inner harmony, passions of anger, sorrow, joy and happiness existing in man would not be given proper expression.¹⁹ The doctrine of the Mean is a theory of moderation, being not excessive, but just right, not more or less.

The Way is divided into the internal way which refers to self-development, and the external which operates amongst others. Both are combined in the concept of nature. And the key to the Way is through the cultivation of virtues, namely wisdom (zhi), benevolence (ren), courage (yong), which are universally attainable by means of extensive study, critical examination, evaluative thinking, discrimination and practice.²⁰ Among the others, ren is the summation of all virtues which can bring about harmony between the individuals as well as in society. It is translated into love, goodness, human-heartedness, kindness etc., yet none of which by itself can aptly deliver its meaning. Ren is the highest perfection of goodness, such as only the sage can attain, but all men may strive after it and reach some degree of attainment.

All wise men covet it, for its possession is more important than life itself.²¹

The basic principle of ren is when one wishes to establish oneself, one seeks to establish others too. One aims not only at self-perfection but also perfection of the others and things. To be able for one to

draw a parallel in the treatment of oneself and the others is the way to practise ren.²² It is a principle of applying a measuring square, using the standard with which one adopts to regulate one's own conduct to treat the others.²³ When translated into practice, it becomes consideration for others in terms of conscientiousness (zhong) and altruism (shu) as well as filial piety (xiao) and brotherly love (di). Through strenuous moral effort of self-cultivation, one gains mastery over self without yielding to passions and prejudices, achieving at the end, a harmonious balance within. Practice of ren relies on the acceptance and restoration of propriety (li).

To subdue one's self and return to propriety is ren.²⁴ Since devoting oneself to the best interest of others is regarded as the true manifestation of the virtues of conscientiousness and altruism, it requires constant practice in order to perfect oneself. Therefore, one ought to act with reverence, respect, and such attitudes should be displayed in all varied relationships of life. In short, the motive force of human progress lies in seeking to know the ordinances of Heaven, learning to accept them with obedience, so that one finally reaches the stage when one becomes part of nature, then one can follow freely the dictates of one's heart.

a.(i) The concept of the ideal man - junzi

Confucius offered a prescriptive model as to how man should aim to cultivate and develop his nature. He defined junzi in terms of moral superiority which could be acquired by all men. In the Analects, the characteristics of the ideal man are listed as follows:

- Persistence in his practise of ren at all times in all circumstances, in haste or under pressure, in danger or

in confusion.²⁵

- Consistency in his belief and action.

"He first practises what he intends to say, and then says in accordance with what he has practised."²⁶

He is moderate and slow in his speech, but ardent and swift in his actions.²⁷

- Engagement in self-criticism for the purpose of self-development. Therefore, he is free from prejudices. He follows what is right.²⁸ He has neither anxiety nor apprehension...because when inward-examination reveals nothing that brings guilt, his conscience is clear.²⁹ He is only afflicted for want of virtue, and not for being unknown to the others.³⁰

- Righteousness is his basic principle.³¹

He puts righteousness above all things and adheres firmly to what is right. The junzi in everything considers righteousness to be essential. He performs it according to li, he acts with humility, and he accomplishes it with sincerity.³²

- He guards himself against vices : in youth, he guards himself against being sensual; in the prime of his life, he warns himself of being quarrelsome; and in old age, he avoids being avaricious.³³

- On the other hand, he gives earnest thought to the following nine things in life : to see clearly, to hear distinctly, to be kind in countenance, to be careful in action, to seek information from others when in doubt, to beware of difficulties when in danger, and to be righteous in sight of gain.³⁴

Undoubtedly, the junzi is humble in his conduct. When serving his superiors, he is respectful. He is kind in dealing with people. And in ordering others, he is just.³⁵

Confucius deliberately used the little mean man (xiaoren) to contrast it with the junzi, so that the qualities of a junzi could be clearly illustrated. While the junzi is liberal, calm and composed, the mean man is narrow-minded and is always in distress. The former clings to virtue, and is imbued with righteousness, the latter prefers comfort and concerns himself only with profit and gain. The junzi is amiable, serene and he aspires toward higher virtues; on the contrary, the mean man is servile, proud and he succumbs to temptations, whereas the junzi can unswervingly endure want. The greatest difference between them is that a junzi demands highly of himself, and is self-reliant, while the mean man demands only of others.

Man should, therefore, have the will to learn to become a junzi, then can he proceed to acquire ren and be holy before he can carry out the sacred mission of promoting the Way to nourish mankind (jishi). This is the criterion on which man's conduct should be judged.

a.(ii) The Way of man and self-cultivation

Confucius exemplified the three essential principles and the eight objectives for self-cultivation in the Book of Great Learning. Since junzi forms the fundamental idea of the moral system, the way that leads to its achievement begins from the understanding of the true and the good to the eventual transformation of the world. The gradation of the process is laid down in the following order:

- a. distinction of things
- b. completion of knowledge

- c. veracity of intention
- d. rectification of the heart
- e. cultivation of self
- f. regulation of the family
- g. government of the state
- h. peace for the entire empire

The first five steps gear toward self-realization and moral development for the perfection of one's personality, it is to 'illustrate illustrious virtues'. The last three stages aim to realize or establish the others through the practice of virtues to attain social harmony, it is to 'renovate the people'. The completion of the whole process would bring forth universal harmony, reaching the highest level of moral excellence.

Distinction of things requires study, because all learning is a discriminating contemplation of things, whether real or abstract, the purpose of which is to draw from learning a principle of reasoning. All inclination and moral endeavour decay if they are not regulated by learning: humaninty becomes folly, wisdom becomes vagueness, confidence becomes rapaciousness, straightforwardness becomes rudeness, valour is but disorder, and firmness becomes stubbornness.³⁶ Therefore, to be fond of learning is to be in the proximity of wisdom,³⁷ and for this reason, the junzi never gives up learning.³⁸

From learning man acquires knowledge which includes both comprehension and wisdom. Three things are necessary for the completion of knowledge: they are one's own destiny which requires the comprehension of the heavenly destiny, of men and of history, of propriety as well one's speech.³⁹ Man should also know what he does not know. Just knowledge is useless, knowledge should enable man to follow the choice of what is good, thus he is free from uncertainty.⁴⁰ Both study and knowledge rise beyond mere scholarship to a higher level of moral responsibility.

Veracity of intention stresses the basic intentions of the heart or will, it sets the direction of life. The will is the proper individuality of the person and is rightly directed when it is set on learning, humanity and the Way. At the same time, it contributes to help the person to overcome all contradicting elements and fluctuations from within. The character 'heart' (xin) in Chinese comprises all feelings and desires, sometimes even thoughts. Under the influence of passion, terror, pleasure, sorrow and fear, one tends not to attain to correct behaviour, because when the mind is engaged otherwise, one does not see, or hear. Therefore, it is paramount that one has to cultivate oneself by rectifying the heart. Man's emotions could actually be summed up into two categories: the attractive sentiments of like (hao), and the repulsive sentiments of dislike (wu). The hao includes love of study, humanity, righteousness, propriety, good faith and all other virtues that are directed toward the development of a junzi. On the other hand, the wu covers all the undesirable elements which would draw man away from being good.

Cultivation of oneself follows that his conduct should be based upon propriety (li), his speech should correspond with his actions, his concern should be centred on cultivation of all virtues which are contained in one's nature. If self perfection is benevolence or 'ren', then interaction with other men is its natural manifestation, based upon respect (jing), trust (xin), kindness (hui) and earnestness (min).⁴¹

Man, being a social being, is bounded by social relations both in the family and in society. Social harmony depends largely on each individual knowing his place and performing his duties. In a patriarchal society, authority and subordination is accompanied by social and

political responsibilities to prevent the abuse of power. Thus, according to Confucius, character training through self-cultivation goes hand in hand with good government. So that when the junzi-like people are entrusted with the responsibility of government, there will be peace and prosperity prevailing throughout the land.

b. The nature of knowledge

The concept of knowledge is incorporated in Confucius's classification of intelligence. It is based on his basic assumption that man's nature is similar, only practice draws them apart.⁴² He distinguished men not according to good or evil, but between "clear and dim". By nature, men are alike. It is only when conduct is considered, then there is the difference of good and bad. The influence of environment plays a major role in affecting people's behaviour: when men live in good environment and with good company, they are inclined to practise good, and vice versa.⁴³ Thus in his teachings, Confucius stressed repeatedly being very careful in choosing the right environment and the proper friends.

Conduct might be influenced by the environment, it begins with idea, the motive which is basically a matter of the mind. If good motive can make a good person, then, development of personality comes before acquisition of knowledge. According to man's intelligence, Confucius classified men into three categories: the upper, the middle and the lower. The upper category refers to the very wise, who even in the worst kind of environment can still reveal their nature; the middle group includes those who can be moulded or cultivated to become the upper, or if they are not careful, they are subjected to the influence of the environment and could become the lower category; the lower

group consists those who even with good instruction cannot be changed.⁴⁴

Though there might be difference in intelligence, there should not be any difference in achievement. All can succeed in acquiring knowledge.

Some are born with the knowledge;
Some know through study;
Others acquire knowledge after suffering from ignorance.
But the knowledge so possessed, and the achievement
made are the same in its value.⁴⁵

Achievement here is seen in terms of personality development; acquisition of knowledge is but a means to facilitate self-cultivation. Therefore, it should not be used as an end determined by one's intelligence.

Knowledge, then, is considered as the measure by which the junzi uses to know his destiny; propriety (li), on the other hand, provides the necessary instruction for his behaviour and speech. Together, they comprise all that is required of one's intellectual as well as moral development.⁴⁶

History is part of knowledge. Confucius said that knowing the past enables one to know all, because "the present is the result of the past, whether it be gain or loss". What constitutes the past is contained in the literature (wen), which includes also the rules of propriety (li),⁴⁷ the odes (shih),⁴⁸ the Book of Change (i-ching),⁴⁹ as well as the examples of the ancient kings and sages, from Yao and Shun to the Zhou Dynasty; the conduct of the sages of antiquity should inspire the people to emulate their example.

Study is for the purpose of self-improvement and not that of gaining approbation of the others.⁵⁰ "To be fond of learning is close to

wisdom",⁵¹ therefore the junzi should never stop learning. Constant learning could help to regulate all inclinations and moral endeavours from decay.⁵²

Confucius's theory of learning is centred on his doctrine of unity and consistency, it is the integration of learning with thinking before application.

Study without thinking makes one disconcerted,
Think without study makes one flighty.⁵³

He advocated for both the inductive and deductive methods of reasoning. First it is necessary to obtain general laws from all kinds of experiences of daily life and then apply them to illustrate particular cases. This is what he meant when he said, "hear one, you can know the other ten",⁵⁴ and "point to one you can reflect on three", i.e. learning by analogy. Knowledge is gained when the facts and experiences of life are being systematically organized and harmonized into standards to guide action. So that when one interacts with the outside world, one behaves according to the standards provided by the knowledge one has acquired. The relationship between action and reasoning is clearly illustrated in Confucius's "nine thoughts of the junzi".⁵⁵

c. The nature of society

Based on the principle of social and economic evolution, the development of society follows that:

When heaven and earth existed, then all material things got their existence. When all material things existed, then came the distinction between male and female...then the relationship between husband and wife, father and son, the sovereign and the subjects. From the relation between the sovereign and the subjects, there came the distinction of high and low which provided the basis for the arrangement of propriety and righteousness.⁵⁶

Confucius's concept of society is based on the proper arrangements of relationships - the principle of morality (lun-li) and the theory of the five relationships (wu-lun). That includes the relationships between the governor and the governed, between parents and children, between husband and wife, between the elder member and the younger ones in the family, and among friends. Each of these relationships are regulated by specific ethical codes, with authority on one side and obedience on the other, and a need for mutual confidence to maintain the principles. Family ethics are the foundation of social and political relationships; therefore, society is really a great family with the individual family functioning as a miniature of the state.

Since the product of natural evolution is a patriarchal society, making up of the ruler and the ruled, high and low officials, the existence of official ranks implies that there are differences of power and authority, as well as duties in the political hierarchy. And such a distinction requires the practice of propriety and righteousness to maintain order and harmony. According to Confucius, propriety is an ethical code enforced by social tradition and public law, and righteousness is a virtue projected in benevolent activities that would secure social harmony.⁵⁷

c.(i) The doctrine of rectification

Rational judgement has to be based on certain criteria which set the standards when applying the principles. Confucius spoke of how to administer the government, he said:

What is necessary is to rectify names...
 If names are not correct, language will not be in
 accordance with the truth of things... then things
 cannot be done with success...properties and music
 will not flourish...justice will disappear...people
 will not know how to act...⁵⁸

Rectification does not refer only to giving names to things, it specifies the proper naming of things which truthfully describes the object in order to distinguish right from wrong, between the superior and the inferior, the elder and the younger, relatives close and distant. Thus a standard of action is implied. Since each name has its own definition and constitutes an essence of that class of things it represents, there should be an agreement between the name and its actuality. In social relationships, individuals bearing different names must fulfil their responsibilities and duties according to the standard of behaviour ascribed, or else he deserves not the name.

There is government when the ruler behaves like a ruler, the minister as minister, when the father behaves like a father, and the son as son.⁵⁹

Man should keep to his proper place and perform his duties. If one man goes beyond his proper sphere of action, therefore, upsetting or violating the basic human obligations, there will be disturbance throughout society which would lead to anarchism and political chaos.

Language too, acquires its full credit when it is said in accordance with the truth. Unless the person who speaks it is rectified, orders given by him will not be carried out, his statements will be discredited, chaos will prevail and civilization will suffer.

In the Book of Great Learning, there mentioned the three essential steps of rectification: to illustrate virtue which is rectification itself, to renovate the people, then to reach the stage of highest excellence, the ultimate purpose of rectification. It is the realization of an ideal situation of moral excellence and universal harmony.⁶⁰

c.(ii) The concept of the family

Rectification should begin in the family. In the patriarchal society, clans and families are organized into a hierarchy in which each has a recognized function and status. Each family is a social unit, largely self-contained and self-governed with the head of the family in direct authority and enforcing implicit obedience.

However, the family is also the basic institution for training individual character. The guiding virtues in regulating the relationships in the family are that of filial piety (xiao) and brotherly love (di), they are in fact, "the root of all benevolent actions".

To serve one's parents just by seeing to it that they are well provided for is not sufficient, one should attend to his parents to make sure that they have no cause of anxiety and obey them as long as their demands accord with what is right. Even if they are wrong, a filial son would always be deferential and remonstrate very gently. Ancestral worship, according to Confucius, is instituted as an ethical act, an extension of humanity, based upon devotion and affection to one's parents, and continuation of such devotion even after their death.

It is a means to cultivate the virtue of filial piety. In the family, if there is fraternal love, mutual trust and harmony prevails among brothers and sisters.

On the other hand, loyalty (zhong) and consideration (shu) suggest the fundamental virtues in public life. Because with loyalty, there comes the willingness to serve others with one's heart unfeignedly; one is not only loyal to one's master but also to one's own principles.

Consideration is a principle by which one uses oneself as a standard to regulate one's conduct by putting oneself in the place of others.

That is, "do not do to others what you would not desire them to do to you."⁶¹

Such are the virtues what would secure harmony and prosperity within the family. But when asked why he was not in public office, Confucius answered that to be filial and affectionate to one's brothers was contributing to good government and in itself an important service to the state. To govern a family well is a primary step towards governing the state.⁶² In the Book of Change, this particular relationship between the family and the state has also been verified:

If the parent is kind to the child, the child will be filial to the parent; if the elder brother is fraternal to the younger, the younger will respect the elder; if the husband is just to the wife, the wife will be devoted to him. When all keep their proper place in the family, then the family is rectified. If the family is rectified, the entire state will be rectified.⁶³

Indeed, the administration of one's family and that of the state are basically the same, both should be founded upon virtues; when loyalty is extended to the sovereign, kindness to fellow-citizens, social order will be maintained.

c.(iii) The organization of the state

Confucius emphasized the importance of the "oneness" of political authority, unitary sovereignty. Because "there are not two suns in heaven, nor can there be two sovereigns over the people." The king is the son of heaven (tianzi), acquires his legitimacy from heaven who possesses the ultimate authority in appointing only men of wisdom and virtue to be rulers. To rule the people, the king has to acquire virtuous qualities of kindness and love. The realization of a

benevolent government has to depend on the practice of the five principles of government:

to benefit the people without wasting the country's resources,
to encourage labour without the cause of complaint,
to desire for enjoyment without being covetous,
to be dignified without being supercilious,
to inspire awe without being severe.⁶⁴

At the same time, he should avoid the "four evils" of bad government. They are cruelty, oppression, injury and meanness. For then can the ruler employ the people in accordance with proper rules and social justice.

For the equal distribution, there will be no poverty;
with mutual good will, there will be no want;
with contentment among the people, there can be no dissolution.

When the people have plenty, the king will not be in want.
But if the people are in want, the king should not have plenty.⁶⁵

Virtue is the basic foundation of government which should be run only by those who practise virtue, then the people will follow. Since:

the virtue of the ruler is like the wind,
the virtue of the people is like grass
when the wind passes over it, it cannot but bend.⁶⁶

The ruler, therefore, has to act as an example for his people. Unless he is capable of maintaining his benevolent influence, he will be dismissed and be replaced by a better and more virtuous ruler.

In a patriarchal society, the king is the head of government with all political authority. But under the sovereign, there were at least four distinct classes of people in the ranking order of the scholar-officials (shi), the agriculturalists (nong), the artisans (gong), and the merchants (shang). Political duties and rights of the individuals vary according to their ranks in the hierarchy, as ascribed by the

principle of propriety (li), then there will be peace and order prevailing over the kingdom.

c.(iv) The principle of propriety (li)

Propriety or li is a code of behaviour which regulates the way people behave in society as well as in the family, cultivating at the same time virtues of loyalty and patriotism.

A wise man gives justice to his being,
he practises it with li,
he speaks it with modesty,
and he attains it with sincerity.⁶⁷

Propriety is also a moral principle for attaining perfect virtues, as one "subdues oneself and conform to the ideal of li".⁶⁸ In the process of self-cultivation, without the regulation of li, virtues can become excessive, so that:

politeness becomes pedantry, caution becomes timidity,
courage becomes insubordination, righteousness makes
man tyrannical.⁶⁹

But li and music (yue) should go together in order to complete the process. While propriety refers mainly to prescription of reason, music generates the mood of harmony. Li provides a code of morality with its full definition of social and political duties of the individual which are to be enforced through the individual's conscience and not by compulsion. So, in practice, li lays down the principles for establishing a social fabric in which people are put in a consistent order of superiority and inferiority, a full manifestation of the application of the doctrine of rectification in creating a general order in society. Music, however, has its role of being an instrument of education to promote virtue. Proper music can bring about inner

harmony of the mind, as it gives emotion its appropriate outlet. Together, they bring about external restraints upon man's conduct so that man would not exceed what is deemed to be fitting and right. And the application of li does not represent only the perfection of one's personality, but also the observance of morality in manners and ceremonies of the polite society as well as in the regulation of government. Confucius deplored internal disintegration of a nation as decadence from within, this would undermine the very foundation of the state, and eventually invite aggression from without. Order must be maintained within the nation, then the influence of the state can be extended beyond the seas.⁷⁰

c.(v) The principle of Yin and Yang and Confucius's concept of change

According to the Book of Change (Yijing), everything in the universe is changeable and the change is constant and continuous. It involves an infinite process which is brought about by the contact of natural forces that are unequal, therefore giving rise to tendencies of change. The Great Origin (taiji) created two different elementary forces of yin and yang. The yang includes qualities of activity, inflexibility, hardness and firmness; the yin, which is the opposite of yang, embodies the qualities of inactivity, flexibility, softness and gentleness. The constant contact and conflicts of these two forces create movements and form varieties. Everything is a creation of natural evolution from the interaction of the opposite and unequal natural forces.

The Grand Origin created two elementary forces.
Then these two forces continued to produce four forms,
which then produce eight trigrams.⁷¹

Through these contacts, nature evolves from the simple to the complex by means of differentiation and multiplication. Therefore, in order to

seek the beginning or root cause of complex phenomena, it is essential to investigate all universal phenomena that which can be reduced to an original single unit of oneness to discover the basic principles so as to predict future events.

Following the same line of reasoning, Confucius emphasized in the process of learning the need of "pursuit of knowledge from the investigation of facts".⁷² Confucius believed that all happenings are not purely accidental, they are the result of spontaneous development. There is a cause for all happenings, and the cause is historical. That is why he insisted on the necessity to "understand the past , so that you may judge the future",⁷³ and "study the antiquity, you may comprehend the new".

While differentiation and multiplication brings about change, things evolve in accordance with the process of phenomenal imitation. As a result, they produce varieties and types some of which are profitable and advantageous to man's life, others are not. So, discrimination is needed to develop and preserve the good while eliminating the bad. This process of selection is facilitated by the institutionalization of morals, customs and laws which would enforce the distinction of judgement based on reasoning.

Good is a phenomenon of having succeeded to attain,
Bad is having failed to attain.⁷⁴

The aim of society is for the life of the people, and society should be so organized that the best kind of life is promoted, and history offers the testimony of what qualities and activities are profitable for the development of the best kind of life.

In the Book of Rites (Liji), it mentioned the three stages of social development. The world is a family, and China is just a single unit or individual in this big family. Civilization developed in three stages. It began with the state of disorder and savagery, characterized by the absence of propriety; it was then followed by the state of small tranquillity where there were institutions, through the practice of propriety, the application of rectification and benevolent government, there should be attainable order and fulfilment of ideals. The ultimate stage is marked by great similarity, characterized by cosmopolitanism, humanitarianism and communism where there is no private property, the disappearance of the national state as well as the family unit. It is a state of perfect social equality and harmony when the whole world forms into a single social organization, and the individual is the independent unit. However, this is the utopia of ancient sages. Confucius aimed only for the establishment of a practical social system which would secure peace, order and progress toward the higher ideals of universal peace and brotherhood. He believed that moral perfection could be obtained through education in all forms, the cultivation of the Way by all is to aspire toward the ethical goal of perfect harmony between heaven and man.

The relationship between benevolence (ren) and propriety (li)

The core of Confucius's thinking lies in the unity of ren and li. According to the studies of Wang Guowei (王國維) and Kuo Mojo (郭沫若) on li, in the history of human development, there was the experience of worshipping god. During this time, before the construction of "li" to regulate the social and political system, li came in the form of primitive rituals which had its origin in 'showing respect and offering sacrifices to the ancestors'. In the ancient clan society,

rituals became a strong and powerful higher establishment. They included a set of fixed orders and regulations in the practice of living and production. They served the purpose of uniting the collective organization and retaining the whole collectivity's existence and development. The concept of rituals was based on the fact that worshipping god was a matter of common to all members of the collectivity. So was the practice of respecting the elder and the old. Respect was the simple virtue of the people then, it embodied the essence of equality, benevolence and consideration. However, primitive rituals were not equivalent to li - the li of Zhou - they were the early forms of li. So was the concept of respect, it was not ren - the ren in Confucius' thinking - it only embodied certain principles of ren.

The original concept of primitive rituals developed into two new concepts. In the age of feudal society, li was used to differentiate people. Li became the sole property of the clan nobility and a term which represented the clan class system. It could be said that li, originated from the concept of primitive rituals, carried the implication of a social and political system, with its foundations basing on differentiation among people; whereas ren prescribed people's moral duty, basing on the clan blood relations and the striving for a unified spirit.

Since the ancient clan system had never been separated from its clan blood-relations, this made it possible for the convergence of li and ren as a historical phenomenon. Confucius was the first person to elevate ren to the level of philosophical world outlook, and made it into a basic category of moral philosophy, uniting it with li. From the primitive rituals, Confucius took out the basic principles and developed them into a theory of ren.

The central point of Confucius's theoretical contribution was to link up ren and li. The organic unification of ren and li as the basis of the organic structure of Confucianism.

The multi-level structural framework of ren renders itself to the following analysis:

1. the basis of ren is 'filial piety and fraternal duty', which is built upon the whole network of blood or family relations.
2. the principle of ren is 'loyalty and forbearance'. Loyalty is respect, so it is consistent with filial piety. Forbearance is the principle of the practice of fraternal duty, reflecting the horizontal demand of ren.
3. the spirit of ren is love for all people. When the above concepts detached themselves from the family-bond set pattern, they obtained the characteristics of surpassing society and class, reflecting the humanistic principles of ancient primitive rituals. Ren is man - humanity and the virtuous love of others.
4. the aim of ren is 'to restore li'. Confucius brought 'ren' into li, using ren to explain li. Ren represents the highest morality, it embodies the 'complete morals'. But li is not abstract, it is real and concrete. When Confucius discussed ren he often put it together with li, using li to standardize ren. So that the practice of ren is regulated in the daily practice of li. Thus li becomes the criteria of ren. And Confucius made it very explicit that it was the li of Zhou that he was trying to uphold and promote.

In the process of linking up the two concepts, ren was the beginning, li was the end; the former was the substance, the latter the utility.

Li became the pursuit of ren, the concrete standard of the practice of ren. Ren and li, each being the means and the end of one another, having the same origin, are closely related and are integrated to form the basis of Confucianism.

Confucius put ren under li, making ren succumbing to li. Ren served the function of mediating the internal contradictions within the higher ruling class. It provided a standard for all members of the society in establishing themselves. On the other hand, li was used to regulate the order and structure of the ruling class, as well as the conduct of the ordinary people, giving the feudal society its blue print.

In the development of Confucianism, the basic characteristics remained solidly rooted in the fundamental concept of ren and li. The ruling class could, depending on the demand of the situation, emphasize either ren or li, but they could not abandon any one of the two. The very organic structure of ren and li aptly constituted the characteristics of moralization of political philosophy and the politicization of moral philosophy in Chinese society.

d) Confucius's teaching on education

- Confucius developed his ideas on education based on the needs of society during his time. The decline of the feudal system brought about the breaking up of the social classes. The small minority of the literati (shi) which belonged to the lower nobility were dispersed. They became part of the general elite which still enjoyed a special status in society. Many of them turned leaders of the local people and monopolized the power of political and social control. Confucius's teaching was mainly directed toward the literati or the gentry to instruct them of the proper way to administer the government and manage

the people. Education, therefore, served to train and cultivate leadership among these scholars. The content of education was to model on the virtues of the junzi who is rich in knowledge, benevolent in personality; when in office, he can assist the emperor to rule the people justly; when out of office, he is contented in poverty and he devotes his life to learning and cultivating his spirit. Confucius believed that if the government was run by people of a junzi character, there would be efficiency, void of corruption, social justice and social customs and life would then flourish.

Confucius's concept of education can be said to be political and the purpose of education is primarily for character training. He said:

Set your mind upon the Way,
Firmly lay hold of every right attachment,
Trust in goodness,
Find relaxation in the arts.⁷⁵

The Way is the target and ren is the guiding principle. Training in character and deportment is fundamental, but knowledge of culture and the arts helps to produce a well-rounded balanced personality.

Confucius is known to be a great teacher. Not only his teaching has been revered, but also his being a model teacher. His flexibility in giving instruction was espoused firstly in his insistence on teaching according to ability. Throughout the Analects, Book II, there are examples showing how Confucius answered differently to various people asking him about the same subject. Secondly, he relied a great deal on students to initiate problems before he gave any instruction. Confucius said that he only explained to those who were anxious and determined to learn. He taught through stimulation and not by indoctrination. Therefore, he advocated systematic guidance on the part of the teacher and self-study on the part of the learner. Thirdly,

according to Confucius, it was essential to learn with perseverance and constant application.

Cherish the old knowledge,
Continue to acquire the new,
Then can he be a teacher to others.⁷⁶

Fourthly, learning should be based on diligent study. In the process of learning, the two aspects of pervasive influence of the character of the teachers and the initiation of the learner are stressed.

The substance of learning should contribute to both the intellectual and moral development of the students. Confucius spoke very frequently of the "four instructions" : literature (wen), ethics (hang), loyalty (zhong) and trustfulness (xin). To him, literature would include the Odes, the rules of propriety, music, as well as the records of ancient history. Together, they formed the matter of knowledge. Ethics, on the other hand, could be learned through imitating good examples rather than instruction. The virtues of loyalty and trustfulness should be the target which one should strive to obtain in the process of learning.

Confucius's main concern in education was for the cultivation of the literati, so that they would become ideal officials for service to the government state and for the transmission of the traditional culture. His emphasis was on higher learning, whereas the basic learning was as much an individual as well as clan responsibility. So, culture, politics and education are interrelated, and each in turn depends on the other for its existence and development.

Table: 1

The Education System of the Han Dynasty (207 B.C. - 220 A.D.)

- Confucianism was institutionalised as the state doctrine.

Main System	Central	Local			
	Capital	Perfecture	County	District	Village
	5th level	4th level	3rd level	2nd level	1st level
	higher education	secondary education		primary education	
	Imperial University 大學	College 學	School 校	District school 庠	Village school 序
Others	schools for nobility	Private Forums held at home Private schools set up by the clan community			

1. The aim of education was to select virtuous and capable people from the literati to take up official posts in the central and local government.
2. The civil examination system was set up for the purpose of selecting candidates basing on four subjects of moral conduct, literature, knowledge of the law, and knowledge of politics.

Three academic honours were rewarded according to the result of the examination and recommendation. They were the good able man (賢良方正) to be assigned to official posts in the central government, the scholar of the second degree (孝廉秀才) for local official appointment, and the disciple of the scholar (博士弟子) to enter the Imperial University to pursue further studies. The content of education included the teachings of Confucius and the books on the "six arts" of propriety, music, archery, riding, writing and arithmetic.

3. The seven classics were Poetry (詩), Records (書), Book of Change (易經), Book of Rites (禮記), Music (樂), Book of Spring and Autumn (春秋), The Analects (論語), and the Book of Filial Piety (孝經).

3. The Model of Mao Zedong Thought

During his sixty years of revolutionary activities, Mao wrote and spoke prolifically, expressing and expounding his ideas on all issues relating to society and the people, each of which bear intrinsic historical importance. There is no question that Mao worked within an intellectual framework drawn from his interpretation of the ideas of Marx and Lenin, but with his unique experience of the revolution, the society and historical period in which he was living, he had evolved for China a system of theories which has guided practice in the country for thirty years.

The sources on which his ideas could be founded are comprehensive. Both the original and secondary material are available in volumes compiled by the official agents, namely the Peking Foreign Languages Press, The Red Guard Collections authorized by Mao himself.

a. Mao's concept of the nature of man

Mao's conceptualization of class as being determined primarily by the individual's relationship to the means of production and of human nature as being class-determined, developed mostly from the Marxist argument. During his Yen'an Forum Talks in 1942, Mao argued against the theory on the universality of human nature, as he held that:

there is only human nature in the concrete,
no human nature in the abstract. In class
society, there is only human nature of a
class character, there is no human nature
above classes.⁷⁷

Mao maintained that those characteristics which linked men together - which he called their 'species being' - were fully realized only after classes had been overcome by the establishment of a communist society. Until then, the essential human characteristics were determined by class, and thus were not universally shared.

He believed in the possibility of change of class. He developed the idea of the 'malleability of man'. From the historical experience of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, Mao abstracted certain characteristic modes of behaviour and points of view of members belonging to each of the two classes, and he used them as modal types. He contended that the class of an individual could be ascertained by categorizing his or her behaviour or outlook as belonging to one or the other type. Thus unlike Marx, Mao regarded experience, behaviour and attitude just as important as economic position in determining one's class.

Within the dialectic, the human actor is seen as performing two important roles of first defining authority - moving beyond mere observance of the contradiction of a phenomenon to set or design goals toward which social conflict is to move and in doing so, defining what are the positive and negative forces in the conflict; secondly, there is the explicit role of being the human agent of change. The Marxist revolutionary actor is expected to move beyond the philosopher's attempt to understand the world and to seek actively to change it. Mao's argument on the relationship between external and internal causation of development⁷⁸ delimits the range of

effective human action. He spelled out the role of human praxis in resolving contradictions and thereby fostering development. Human action, therefore, was to 'resolve', 'handle' social conflicts.⁷⁹

According to Mao's categories of correct behaviour and attitude, the characteristics requisite for 'revolutionary successors',⁸⁰ the ideal communists:

must be genuine Marxist-Leninists; they must be revolutionaries who wholeheartedly serve the overwhelming majority of the people; they must be proletariat statesmen capable of uniting with and working together with the overwhelming majority.

They must be models in applying the Party's democratic centralism, must master the method of leadership which is based on the principle of "from the masses to the masses".

So, revolutionary successors should take the class stand of the proletariat, they should work to serve the people and employ the method of the mass-line.

To Mao, the ideal socialist man should commit himself to upholding the principles of political morality which was based on the five essential ethical values of selflessness in view of a collective spirit, self-reliance, persistence, honesty and faith. In his works Mao often referred to the "three well-read articles" to illustrate the moral lessons which could be learned. As a matter of fact, each of the three articles : "In Memory of Norman Bethune" (1939),⁸¹ "Serve the People" (1944),⁸² and "The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountain" (1945),⁸³

uses an individual to exemplify the kind of ethical qualities that should be acquired.

Mao further explained how each principle could be manifested in the context of a true revolutionary successor. Selflessness required a concern for others, a willingness to serve the people, and a 'readiness to sacrifice oneself'. This collective spirit was especially significant to combat the bourgeois idealist world view which had projected itself in conceit and individualism. Mao believed that with selflessness, there embodied the virtue of modest, which would give man his moral integrity. The value of self-reliance was only applicable in the context of a collectivity. Then not only must the individuals direct their action toward the welfare of the others but they must also act together to promote collective achievement. Self-reliance was propounded by Mao not only as an individual virtue, but as an ethical principle to be realized at every level of society. China's developmental tasks were long-termed and difficult, especially when there were only limited capital and resources. Therefore, to undertake the tasks with persistence seemed to be the only feasible alternative. To combat selfish individualism, a characteristic of the bourgeoisie, Mao constructed a value structure to promote honesty. Mao's espousal of the mass-line method of policy formulation made it necessary for the unencumbered exchange of accurate information between leaders and subordinates, between members of the Party and the people. Dishonesty or selfishness would break these crucial communication links. So, honesty has always been an important element in socialist morality.⁸⁴ Mao indicated in 1955 that the two 'cardinal principles' were faith in the masses and faith in the Party.⁸⁵ In order to achieve the goals of development, people should have faith in socialism and communism too.

Mao claimed that faith would pay off in that it was the first element of victory which was victory itself.⁸⁶

However, all these ethical principles must be borne out in practice. Mao insisted on the unity of motive and effect, and motives could be judged only on the basis of their effect in social practice.⁸⁷

b. Mao's dialectical theory of knowledge

Ever since class society came into being, the world has had only two kinds of knowledge, knowledge of the struggle for the production and knowledge of the class struggle. Natural science and social science are the crystalizations of these two kinds of knowledge, and philosophy is the generalization and summation of the knowledge of nature and the knowledge of society.⁸⁸

Mao wrote in his essay on "Rectify the Party's style of work" (1942) about his conception of knowledge mainly dependent on production and class struggle. He believed that it was through participation in material production that:

man comes gradually to understand the phenomena, the properties and the laws of nature...to understand, in varying degrees, certain relations that exist between man and man.⁸⁹

- However, man's social practice should not be confined to activity only in production. It should take other forms too, such as class struggle, political activity, scientific and artistic pursuits. Since

as a social being, man participates in all spheres of practical life of society...in all its various forms, exerts a profound influence on the development of man's knowledge.⁹⁰

Since man's social practice alone was regarded as the criterion of truth of his knowledge of the external world, man's knowledge could

only be verified when he had achieved the anticipated results in the process of social practice. Mao stressed that there was only one kind of true theory, and it should be drawn from the objective reality and then verified by objective reality. He quoted Stalin's saying that "theory becomes aimless when it is not connected with practice".⁹¹

Mao considered that the nature of knowledge could be relatively complete. Basically, knowledge was formed in two stages : the first stage was what Mao called as perceptual knowledge, the second was rational knowledge. The latter was the development of the former but to a higher stage. Yet on the other hand, there were two kinds of 'incomplete knowledge'. One was the ready-made knowledge found in books and the other was knowledge that was mostly perceptual and partial. Both were one-sided, and only through the integration of the two could one produce knowledge that was "sound and relatively complete". And the answer was to be found in the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge. By placing practice in the primary position, human knowledge could then be held to be never separated from reality and therefore, repudiating any "erroneous theories" which denied the importance of practice or separate knowledge from practice. Mao quoted Lenin again to reinstate his point that "practice is higher than knowledge, for it has not only the dignity of universality, but also of immediate actuality".⁹² Mao saw in the Marxist philosophy of dialectical materialism the two outstanding characteristics : one was its class nature, thus it openly avowed that dialectical materialism was in the service of the proletariat. The other was its partiality, since it emphasized the dependence of theory on practice and should serve practice.

Mao's answer to the source of knowledge was clearly stated in the

following quotation:

Where do correct ideas come from? Do they drop from the skies? No. Are they innate in the mind? No. They come from social practice, and from it alone; they come from three kinds of social practice - the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. It is man's social being that determines his thinking.⁹³

In his essay "On Practice : On the Relations between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing", Mao exemplified the origin and development of ideas. He investigated into firstly the process of cognition and secondly the verification of ideas when he offered the criteria for differentiating and evaluating ideas. Based on his conviction in the universality of contradiction, the process of cognition, too, was dialectic. It also involved the movement from one stage to the other and brought about a qualitative transformation of a synthetic nature. It then necessitated the conflict of opposites in the preceding stage.

The process of knowing in Mao's view should include three stages - perception, conception and revolutionary practice, with the third stage giving rise once again to the first stage, and the process continued over and over again.

"No investigation, no right to speak",⁹⁴ Mao said. All perceptions were results of the interaction of the observer and the phenomenon. Mao stressed on the need of direct contact, he insisted that it was only through reaching down to the basic level, observing the conditions and speaking to the people to ascertain their opinions then one could form perceptions of any situation. "All knowledge originates in the perception of the objective, external world through human physical sense organs"⁹⁵ wrote Mao. Nonetheless, he recognized the importance of

indirect knowledge to prevent one from adhering to 'narrow empiricism'. Where possible the second-hand knowledge should be verified. This he referred to "theories set down by predecessors in summarizing experience of the struggle of production and class struggle".⁹⁶ At this stage, the object of observation should be the conflicts and contradictions that were present in the phenomenon under consideration.

Empiricism of the perceptual stage produced information of the superficial phenomena only. Perception must serve as an usher at the threshold of grasping the essence of the phenomenon. As one continued to participate in social practice, repeated perceptions and impressions would give rise to the formulation of concepts. This was the stage of rational knowledge when one could grasp the essence, the totality and the internal relations of things. Conceptualization required a "systematic and thorough investigation and study" of the problem under observation. Though the two processes were 'qualitatively' different, they were unified in practice.

If you want to know a certain thing or a certain class of things directly, you must personally participate in the practical struggle to change reality...for only thus can you come into contact with them as phenomena; only through personal participation in the practical struggle...can you uncover the essence of that thing or class of things and comprehend them.⁹⁷

Though all genuine knowledge must originate in direct experience, one could not have direct experience of everything. Most of the knowledge came from indirect experience, but what was indirect experience for oneself was direct experience of other people. As long as the requirement of 'scientific abstraction' was fulfilled in the first place, and the objective reality was scientifically reflected, then that piece of knowledge would be considered reliable. Mao summed it up as follows:

Rational knowledge depends upon perceptual knowledge, and perceptual knowledge remains to be developed into rational knowledge - this is the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge.⁹⁸

The product of the process of cognition was two-fold : new ideas and a changed world. Concept and world did not coincide directly with one another. When the world was perceived once again, it was found always to be in contradiction with those concepts formed prior to the change. And these concepts would be brought to bear as preconceptions in the new process of cognition.

Correct conceptualization was ensured by a set of criteria based on the legitimacy or validity of the preconceptions. The observer had to be competent and experienced in arranging and constructing the perceptual data. When perception and conception were divorced from each other, deviation from correct practice would occur, especially in the form of subjectivism which was a characteristic of the dogmatists as well as the empiricists. Mao reckoned that theorists should be able to conceptualize on the basis of perceptual knowledge. And theory was regarded as having been "crystallized in the subjective world of the theorists. When the subjective reflects the objective, it becomes subjective activity, not subjectivism."⁹⁹

Other than the understanding of the laws of the objective world, and being able to explain it, Mao was more concerned with the application of the rational knowledge obtained to bring about substantial change in the world.

Knowledge begins with practice and theoretical knowledge is acquired through practice and must then return to practice...of changing the world ...of production...of revolutionary class struggle...and of scientific experiment.¹⁰⁰

Practice was crucial, understanding was incomplete without it. Marx stated that the more important function of practice was to supersede mere understanding and actively involve in changing the world through revolution, which was the very meaning of praxis. Mao recognized too that in each dialectical leap in the third stage was actually a contradiction between the new ideas that emerged from the stage of concept formation and the unaltered world - the world as it was when it was initially perceived. The new ideas were actually prescriptions for change, and the world might not be ready to conform to the change. Thus Mao saw in the solution to each problem, there was a particular relationship of contradiction with that problem, rather than one in correspondence to it. This introduction of contradiction at this stage in the cognitive process underlined the element of revolutionary, rather than ameliorative change.

Mao was aware of the problem of bifurcation between the observer-theorists and the revolutionary actor, that was the separation of perception from praxis. In his article on "Where Do Correct Ideas Come From",¹⁰¹ Mao reinstated the need for integration. He actually recast his theoretical scheme by putting perception and conception together as one single process and social practice as the second stage when "matter is transformed into consciousness and consciousness into matter...such leaps are phenomena of everyday life." The simplification of the process of cognition into two stages enabled the basic contradiction between theory and practice to be accentuated. So that the unity of the observer and actor could be achieved.

Theories had to be tested and developed in practice. It was a matter of finding out whether theories could achieve the objectives set before, whether they did correspond to the objective reality. That was why

Mao considered practice as the criterion of truth and the standpoint of life and practice should be the first and fundamental aspect in knowing. However, there were difficulties involved in the process of application. So Mao made it clear that in changing nature or society, due to the existence of numerous limitations and unforeseen circumstances, the original ideas or plans were seldom realised immediately. Therefore, repeated practices were anticipated in developing knowledge and transforming the subjective to the objective.

The verification of ideas made it necessary to spell out the criteria for comparing and evaluating the ideas. Mao suggested that the first condition was the correctness of an idea, then it was its relevance and its duration of relevance, since the world to which an idea referred was an ever changing one. The third criterion was who perceived, conceived and acted upon the idea. Correct ideas were supposed to be developed in the conceptual stage which should correspond to the objective reality in the subsequent stage of social practice. As far as relevance was concerned, there were ideas of permanent relevance, those of relatively long-term relevance, and last of all, ideas of only short-term validity. The existence of contradiction and the dialectical method of analysis both constituted the essential facts of a changing world. Abstract principles were to be applied to concrete circumstances, and they were characterized by their ultimate transitoriness. Mao argued that there were limits to the laws of Marxism-Leninism in their applicability to China, preconceptions, therefore, should not be limited to the Marxist-Leninist canon alone, but must be augmented with the concepts derived from Chinese praxis. Ideas that were product of a specific process of cognition, until they were further tested, were valid only in the instance in which they were produced. However, ideas that were proved to be reliable as preconcep-

tions in a number of processes were taken to be concepts or theories of the second category, i.e. the laws of relatively long-range validity. The characteristics of the observer-actor had to be considered. Since all praxis had a political content - the stand, the viewpoint and method determined the political status which became the standard by which the legitimacy of the observer-actor was measured.

To sum it up, Mao's theory of knowledge was:

Discover the truth through practice and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and objective world.¹⁰²

However, the key point was "practice, knowledge, again practice, again knowledge". This process should repeat itself in endless cycles and with each cycle, the content of practice and knowledge would rise to a higher level. This was Mao's dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge and the theory of the unity of knowing and doing.

e. Mao's concept of society

Contradiction exists in the process of the development of all things and...in the process of the development of each thing, a movement of opposites exists from beginning to end.¹⁰³

The view of the interaction of opposing forces as the natural state of society and nature was not uncommon to preclassical Greek thinking in the European intellectual tradition nor was it to pre-Confucian thinking in the Chinese traditional thought. Yet a linguistic distinction should be made in terms of the two possible types of relationships existing between opposites which in itself is one of

the several possible relationships that can exist between two items. Based on the conception of change, the kind of relationship can be complementary or contradictory. The interrelationship of complementary elements lends itself to a view of change as repetitive, preordained and cyclical; whereas the relations of conflicting elements implies linear and progressive change.

Mao consistently treated the interaction of opposing forces as a natural given state of things. He wrote,

Imbalance is an universal, objective law. Things forever proceed from imbalance to equilibrium and again from equilibrium to imbalance in a cycle, but each cycle brings about a higher plane. Imbalance is constant and absolute, while equilibrium is temporary and relative.¹⁰⁴

While he asserted to the view that the natural and social realms were inherently fraught with the interaction of opposing forces, he contravened with both the Maoist and Confucianist traditions in their emphasis on the complementarity of these opposing forces as well as the claim that the change in which that opposition eventuates must be cyclical or sequential in nature. Mao held that it was conflict and not complementarity that characterized the inherent opposition. So change in nature and society, as a result, must be progressive.

The concept of the dialectics, as Mao saw it, was essentially a concept of the ubiquity of conflict, so much that nature, society and method are all linked by the common trait of conflict. Mao regarded conflict as a method too, that was the dialectic mode of analysis, based on Mao's reinterpretation of the conflutual nature of the material world as naturally fraught with oppositions. 'Contradictions' is a term of which Mao made frequent use to refer to both non-antagonistic and

antagonistic conflicts.¹⁰⁵ In his formulation of the principle of the unity of opposites, he gave the dialectic a dual emphasis, both on its complementarity and contradiction, each having its own characteristics. While the former is only momentary, the latter is permanent in the dialectical process.

His basic assumption was that the process of the interaction of contradictory elements could be identified in all settings, the natural, social and philosophical. He said:

Motion itself is a contradiction.....
Contradiction exists universally and in
all processes, whether in the simple or
the complex forms of motion, whether in
the objective phenomena or ideological
phenomena.¹⁰⁶

Mao defined natural sciences on the basis of a specific contradiction which constitutes the focus of the study. He sided with Engels and Lenin on the argument that there is an essential link between the applicability of dialectics to the study of natural and social sciences. However, Mao advanced the argument to give a practical explanation to the dialectic as a method of analysis. In doing so, he reunited nature with the activity of man in a way which is more in consonance with Marx's approach. He wrote:

In human practice - in the struggle against nature, in class struggle, and in scientific experimentation.....man considered the laws of material reality and proved the correctness of the philosophy of materialism.¹⁰⁷

The central tenet of Mao's conception of the dialectic lies in his formulation of the law of the unity of the opposites. He explained:

No contradictory aspect can exist in isolation. Without its opposite aspect, each loses the conditions for its existence.¹⁰⁸

Mao claimed that the unity of opposites is the "most basic law", and he contended that Engels' three laws of the dialectic:¹⁰⁹ the law of the transformation of quantity into quality and vice versa, the law of the interpenetration of opposites, and the law of the negation of the negation, are reducible to one law, the unity of opposites. However, Mao suggested that overemphasizing the unity of opposites rather than their potential contradiction is a Hegelian error. It gives rise to satisfaction with the status quo. Therefore, the correct position should be one that emphasizes the moment of one splitting into two, thereby pointing to the continuity of conflict and the temporary character of unity and equilibrium.¹¹⁰ So, the unity of opposites should be seen as conditional, temporary, transitional and relative. In all processes of development, there are times of struggle, disunity, and qualitative change, as well as complementarity, unity and quantitative change. However, the struggle is absolute, while unity is only relative. Thus, the dialectical resolution to the apparent paradox of opposition in unity and unity in opposition lies in regarding the two conditions as moments that alternate over time in an ongoing process.

Deriving from his conception of the dialectical resolution, Mao had used the metaphor of the wave and the spiral to illustrate the movement of progress and development. He stated that no development could proceed in a straight line, but in the shape of the wave or a spiral. The spiral illustrates the fact that things proceed from imbalance and back to balance. Each cycle brings about a higher plane. And the wave metaphor suggests the shift between high and low speed, between tension and relaxation.

Hegel's dialectical triad in its pure form suggests a dynamic process

of achieving an innovation. On the contrary, Mao's conception of the process of reaching a synthesis is far more mechanistic than organic. Mao considered that the change which occurs during the period of relative balance is quantitative in nature, and may be brought about by external or internal causes. At the same time, conflicts develop, sharpen and deepen. During this time, the dialectic becomes a comparative method by means of which the two aspects of a contradiction are brought together and their relative strength measured, resulting in a qualitative change of the situation. Mao used the term 'a leap' to imply a qualitatively new situation which must be brought about by forces internal to the contradiction itself through struggle.¹¹¹

Therefore, the use of contradiction as a method of investigation and analysis is the only satisfactory mode of analysis as its basis on contradiction is the same basis on which rest both the natural and social worlds. Conflict, on the other hand, is absolute and is a permanent feature of the natural and social worlds. The nature of conflict may change, but conflict itself is constant. To sum it up, Mao took conflict as a given natural state, and the dialectic is the only mode of thought that reflects this conflicting nature. Conflicts, therefore, perpetuate and do not terminate. And the correct handling of contradictions can promote development, and conflict is the very motor of progress.

Mao's concept of class and class struggle.

Mao's ideas on class and class struggle are essentially Marxist in origin, but in Mao's treatment of them, they have come to diverge significantly from their origins in defining the Chinese society.

In his "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese society" (1926),¹¹² Mao

gave an essentially static description of the structure of Chinese society. He listed six classes which existed in Chinese society. They were the landlord class, the comprador class, the middle bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the semiproletariat, and the proletariat. The criteria he used to separate the people into different classes were basically economic. That was based on the ownership and non-ownership of the means of production, and on the relative wealth and status.

Based on his argument that class analysis should require not only an investigation of the economic status, but also equally important on investigation of the attitude of the members of each class toward the revolution. So he further divided the classes into three distinctive categories of those who belonged to 'ourselves', 'our friends', and 'our enemies'. According to Mao, the category of 'ourselves' was composed of mainly the industrial proletariat, 'our friends' consisted of the petty bourgeoisie, the left wing of the middle bourgeoisie and the semiproletariat such as the semi-owner-peasants, poor peasants, small handicraftsmen, shop assistants, peddlers etc., and the last category of 'our enemies' included the warlords, landlords, bureaucrats, compradors, reactionary intellectuals, and the right wing of the middle bourgeoisie.

Mao made it clear that "to distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must make a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution". So, the three superordinate categories were set up according to both political and economic conditions. However, later on, Mao did speak of the 'intermediate class'¹¹³ which consisted of

small landlords and rich peasants, they were those borderline people who could not easily be distinguished as 'friends' or 'enemies'.

But, during the long years of revolutionary experience, Mao began to treat the Chinese class structure as a more simplified dichotomy of the bourgeoisie and the proletariat. Class was then seen as determined not only by economic factors, but also by political differences. In general, the political tendency of the bourgeoisie as a whole was regarded as that of vacillation, a propensity to compromise. But this tendency was unequally manifested in the various segments of the bourgeoisie. Mao defined the intellectuals as those with at least middle school education or the equivalent, they were, however, included into the class of petty bourgeoisie. Yet they were to be separated into 'revolutionary' and 'counter-revolutionary' elements according to their willingness to "integrate themselves with the workers and peasants" as well as the degree to which they actually did. Subsequently, political and ideological criteria were used to determine which members of an economically constituted class should be considered as belonging to the broader categories of friends or enemies.

In 1933, Mao wrote the document on "How to differentiate the Classes in Rural Areas",¹¹⁴ and he listed five different classes of landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and workers (including the farm labourers). The classes, however, were differentiated on the basis of the amount of land and the number of farming implements which the people owned, as well as the disposition of labour. That was according to whether an individual employed the labour of others, or he worked for himself, or he was forced to sell his labour.

It is quite obvious that Mao's treatment of class is based on class status rather than class origin. In his conception of contradiction, change and praxis were two interrelated central concerns, and this led him to emphasize the mutability of class standing rather than its fixed 'givenness'. The possibility of change of one's class status and the manifold determinants of class, namely the political, ideological and economic factors, reaffirmed Mao's argument that despite one's class origin, one could change class-stand, because incorrect ideas from the environment could be corrected by the education which was conducted by the Party.

In his speech "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People",¹¹⁵ Mao specified his conception of class and class conflict in a socialist society. Though he spoke frequently of the continual existence of class struggle, his emphasis was on the gradual diminution of class struggle. The definition of supraclass categories of the 'people' and 'enemies of the people' were used to replace the previous labels on class. The distinction was based mainly on political attitude of the people toward the principal contradiction facing the society at a particular time. Mao first mentioned the differentiation between antagonistic and non-antagonistic contradictions in his article "On Contradiction" (1937). So the distinction between the 'people' and the 'enemies' was essentially a subsequent development from the previous concept on contradictions. In 1957, he wrote:

At the present stage, the period of building socialism, the classes, strata, and social groups which favour, support, and work for the cause of socialist construction, all come within the category of the people, while the social forces and groups which resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to or sabotage socialist construction are enemies of the people.¹¹⁶

The distinction was crucial, for in 1949, Mao indicated that there was a difference in methods of government that was appropriate to the two groups: democracy was to be employed among the people to resolve contradictions, whereas contradictions with the enemies were antagonistic and therefore, had to be resolved by dictatorial methods. The relationship between class struggle and the struggle between the people and their enemies was discussed in Mao's article on "The Sixty Work Methods" (1958).

After the complete abolition of classes at the end of the transition period, as far as the domestic situation is concerned, politics is entirely a relationship among the people.

By that time there will still be ideological struggle, political struggle, and revolution among men.....but the nature of struggle and revolution is different from the past; it is not a class struggle, but a struggle among the people, a struggle between advanced and backward science and technology.¹¹⁷

With this, Mao held the optimism of the gradual elimination of class conflict in China and its replacement by peaceful conflicts among the people.

However, when Mao witnessed the sharpening of class struggle during the Great Leap Forward (1957-60), he abandoned the "theory of the dying out of class struggle" and renewed his concern for class classification. He reckoned that there were conflicting strata and interest groups, contradiction between manual and mental labour, between urban and rural areas, between workers and peasants, between the advanced and the backward sectors in a socialist society. Furthermore, new elements of the bourgeoisie might arise, since "the overthrown reactionary class may attempt a comeback". So, he offered a reinterpretation of the four-class model of the Chinese society in 1958 and 1959. The new

model depicted the society as composed of remnants of the exploiting class, the national bourgeoisie, workers and peasants.¹¹⁸ When this model was integrated into the earlier supraclass categories of people and enemies, workers, peasants, urban petty bourgeois elements and patriotic intellectuals were all included into the category of the people. While the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and anti-communist rightists were the enemies of the people.

The concept of class evolved as it did from a broad-based alliance of classes supporting the Communist Revolution, known as 'the people', and finally into a class-based category of the 'proletariat' during the Cultural Revolution. And all those who opposed the united front became 'enemies' of the people. Supraclass categories too gave way to the reintroduction of class distinctions accompanied by the intensification of the class struggle.

Socialist transformation was viewed by Mao as a process that carried within itself the potential for its own reversal. Mao's theory of 'embourgeoisement' or retrogressive transformation, deriving from his basic concept of conflict and experience, offered a coherent theory of society, especially in a socialist society where class and class conflict continued to exist in the form of ongoing struggle between the old and the new, the true and false, the subjective and the objective, the forces and the relations of production, materialism and idealism, the individual and the collective. Mao claimed that to deny the permanence of change was to deny the very fundamentals of Marxism.

d. Mao's educational thoughts

We must educate a lot of people - the sort of people who were the vanguard of the revolution.¹¹⁹

The principal purpose of education for Mao was to create a new generation of 'revolutionary successors', who would be immuned to the corrupting effect of political life for as far as possible. The secondary purpose was the reeducation of individuals who had succumbed to those corrupting effects, namely dealing with the retrogression in socialist society.

Mao exemplified the goals of education in one of his famous articles in 1964 on the characteristics requisite for revolutionary successors. They included the inculcation of a body of knowledge - Marxism-Leninism, the ability to unite with the majority, and the ability to practice the mass line. They should be taught to serve the people and become selfless.

The tasks of education were difficult and interrelated. They involved the reeducation of those who grew up under the pre-Liberation regime, the education of the new young generation who would become the revolutionary successors, and the reeducation of those who had retrogressed and succumbed to the economic, political or ideological causes of corruption. Class deterioration was inherent in all political life. So, one of the characteristics of Mao's educational ideas was the disinstitutionalization of the education process and its reintegration with society as a whole. With disinstitutionalization, the potential bad effects of using the intellectuals as the agents of education could then be mitigated. Mao was convinced that intellectuals were especially vulnerable to the corrupting influences. They were likely to create a new bourgeoisie in the socialist system. So, reeducation was the key word to most of Mao's educational projects. The main purpose was to overcome all shortcomings and to correct all

mistakes. Mao used the following slogans 'struggle-criticism-transformation' and 'unity-criticism-unity' to highlight the dialectical framework within which education should work. Transformation was to change the deviant individual through the processes of struggle and criticism. In the process of criticism, everyone involved including the individual to be reeducated, must begin from the unified position of a desire to resolve the contradiction. During the process, the group might inevitably be divided, but the result should be the achievement of "a new unity on a new basis".¹²⁰

Education, was defined within the context of politics, and it covered virtually every aspect of the socialization process. Deinstitutionalizing education was politicization. Society itself must be politicized to break down the institutional barrier that had separated the education system from the society. Education was to serve politics and contribute to the development of the whole socialist society.

4. A Comparison of the Two Models

To a certain extent, Mao's model of the nature of man, knowledge and society converges with Confucius' ideas especially on the level of some basic philosophical assumptions. However, they diverge immensely in application and practice.

First of all, Mao's dialectical materialist view of man as the central subject of action, both shaping and being shaped by the environment, made him believe that it is possible to change man's consciousness. His 'ideological remoulding' reforms were based on his assumption that man can and should be re-educated, that the people should follow the 'correct' ideological path as a guide to human conduct and that

'self-cultivation' was necessary. The possibility of everyman cultivating himself to become the ideal man (junzi) was basic to Confucius' idea about man. According to Confucius, 'by nature men are almost alike, but through practice they become different'. Man's nature (xing) is necessary 'good', and the interconnectedness of xing, humanity (ren) and the principle of propriety (li) contributed to man's proper behaviour. Even Mao would not repudiate the basic morality taught by Confucius. The virtues which Confucius ascribed to the 'junzi' have a place in Mao's model of a socialist man too. The transcendence of self-interest so as to serve people is not far from putting others' needs before that of oneself, persistence in adhering to the guiding principles, modesty to learn from others are what Confucius would call sincerity and respect in treating others. However, submersion in the collectivity, uncompromising hatred of enemies, renunciation of the privileges and personal interests, conviction in the totality of the proletariat mission to build socialism might seem distant from Confucius's idea of consideration, loyalty and forgiveness.

Secondly, Mao used the dialectical cosmological laws to show how selfless participation in mass movements constituted the very essence of the personal quest for truth and morality. According to Mao, the moral effort of the individual could then be organically connected to the processes of social transformation.

Similarly, Confucius's concept of self-fulfilment included the need for moral autonomy: 'one brings to completion of oneself and the things of the world' through self-assertion. The locus of moral action is the self's unmediated contact with 'things', they included the natural and social cosmos as a whole, mankind, one's family and the state. Both required a backdrop of widespread moral decay including the debili-

tating forces of selfishness within the self; for Mao, it was the decadent 'feudalistic' and 'bourgeois' tendencies, and for Confucius, it was the great power of bad material desires which he called 'yu'.

Thirdly, based on the same concept of self-assertion, Confucius stressed not only the pursuing of moral ideals differentiated from the status quo, those which 'opposed the current customs', but also the achievement of one's ability to actualize a general spirit of morality identical in all individuals. Mao's idea of education was to inculcate socialist values so that the people would become workers endowed with socialist morality. This, he believed, would guarantee the success of the revolution. When he attacked Confucius' idea of individualism, he was criticizing the individual's quest for ego-gratification in terms of allocation of honour, of who 'acts respectfully toward whom'. Mao's class struggle and transformation of class relations required breaking away from the Confucian pattern of the five human relations. The strong presumption that the superiors were intellectually more capable of articulating objectively valid norms of moral obligation entailed not only gratitude toward the morally deserving superior, but also blind obedience. Mao discredited such behaviour and turned to 'struggle-criticism-transformation' as a means to liberate people's thinking.

Fourthly, Mao propagated the importance of integrating theory and practice in the pursuit of true knowledge. Confucius, too, stressed the correlation between theory and practice by linking learning with practice. The difference was that he emphasized 'study' in search of knowledge and in knowing the Way so that one could act accordingly. Mao distrusted the sole emphasis on theoretical knowledge especially at the expense of practical knowledge. He was actually against

intellectualism and an emphasis solely on classical learning and book learning.

Fifthly, both shared the same concept of education as fundamentally moral-political and as something that went on throughout life and that it involved all that man did. Confucius' aim of education was to develop human nature and to build a society of benevolent rule and eventually to realise the ideal of a utopian world. Mao also used education to cultivate the new socialist men and to create a new proletariat culture. But instead of producing the 'scholar-official', Mao wanted education to produce socialist workers. While Mao's education was for the masses, Confucius did not distinguish between people, he once declared that 'in education, there is no class'. Confucius' ideal of universal education complemented Mao's equalitarian notion of education.

Lastly, the greatest divergence in Mao's model lies in his concept of dialectical synthesis through struggle and transformation. His belief in revolutionary change brings him in conflict with Confucius' belief in perpetual change through adaptation. Traditional Chinese thinking is based on complementary opposites; every phenomenon can be divided into its 'yin' and 'yang', yet these two parts could fit together harmoniously to form a perfect cyclical evolution. But for Mao, the juxtaposition of opposites led not to harmony but to moral struggle; one must defeat the other to survive. He saw every human phenomenon as riven into struggling 'contradictions', when the individual fights the cleavage in his soul between the old and the new, and society is marked by the struggle between the poor class and the exploiting rich class. Even city and village are juxtaposed in the struggle of development, finally, on a global level, socialism and capitalism cannot coexist eternally.

It could be said that Confucius promoted social harmony to preserve the traditional hierarchy of power from father to emperor. But Mao had to get rid of the feudal social order to implant his 'mass-line' democracy as well as to legitimize the leadership of the Party. In order to promote a thoroughly integrated society in which the individual is worker, peasant, militant and scholar, it was necessary for Mao to break down the old system which reinforced a stratified society with the literati at the top.

The full significance of Mao's thought cannot be revealed if his ideas are regarded as the 'terminal climax' of Chinese intellectual history. Rather Mao's ideas are part of a varied, ongoing effort to resolve China's current ideological dilemma (refer to the Chapter on the dialectical relationship between ideology and system of thinking). This dilemma comes from a contradiction between the necessity of a system of thinking to embody standards of truth and the urgent need for an ideology to justify the spirit of self-sacrifice on which successful mobilization of mass support depends. In the process of China's ongoing search for an intellectually tenable system of thinking which can elucidate the oneness of the cosmological, moral and political process of modern Chinese society, China will have to rely on the ethics of interdependence to define the conditions of moral commitment. And mass mobilization will depend on the successful propagation of Mao's thoughts and the Communist ideology.

The difference between the two models will be explored in later Chapters in order to illuminate the great debates on education. When in practice, the Confucian ethos comes into direct confrontation with the Communist ideology in a conflict between the 'high' and 'low' cultures.

CHAPTER THREE :

BASIC PROBLEMS OF INTRODUCING A NEW IDEOLOGY IN CHINESE EDUCATION

1. Introduction

In 1949, the new government of the CCP faced the task of trying to bring about large-scale transformation of the Chinese society by replacing the traditional Confucian worldview of harmony and stability¹ with the Marxist dialectical view of contradictions and class struggle.² Against the model of Confucian ethos, the Communist model provided a framework of revolutionary changes by introducing ideological struggle, organized political control, modernization of the economic sector and proletarianization of the Chinese people through various measures of 'thought reform' (sixiang gaizao), centralization of state administration, collectivization in the rural areas³ and extensive educational reforms to create a workers' intelligentsia.

The Chinese Communists realized that ideology could serve to justify revolutionary activities and objectives for transforming society, but it was organization which served to mobilize the people in order to achieve the set goals. However, the primacy of organization means that every man must become a functioning and effective member of the group which is closely linked to a larger organization. Ideology is the basis of solidarity and serves to hold the organization together.⁴ The CCP had to elicit support of the masses through the promulgation of the Communist ideology. To them, transforming the 'consciousness of the individual' to 'correct thinking' , meant not only changing them to a certain way of thinking, but also of behaving: this is what they called 'taking a standpoint' (lichang).

When the CCP came into power in 1949, they were confronted with a Chinese society which they themselves labelled as being 'semi-colonial' and 'semi-feudal'. They claimed that the kind of culture they then inherited was mainly 'feudal and bourgeois'. To them, ancient culture signified 'rule by culture' and 'education through culture'. The feudal rulers of the various dynasties used culture as an instrument to govern and educate the people. Yet, on the other hand, the CCP reiterated that "it is clear that the people during various dynasties created the nation's material and cultural wealth and that China's close affinity with them and their democratic outlook was at the heart of its fine cultural tradition"⁵.

Other than the political polemic of adopting the principle of 'making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China'⁶, the CCP has struggled for the past three decades to decide on the criteria for selecting what they regard as 'the cream of China's cultural heritage' and the 'progressive culture and outstanding legacy of foreign countries'.

Taking into consideration the dominant features of the Chinese Communist ideology of the dictatorship of the proletariat under the leadership of the Party, putting politics in command in all aspects of life and upholding the socialist road, the CCP required consolidation of the new regime by rallying the support of the people behind its policies. It was necessary for them to undermine or convert all 'oppositions' (including past, present and potential) to create a new allegiance and a new identity of the people as zealous adherents of the Communist regime. Education, in various forms, was assigned as the channel for transmitting the new values and goals from the leaders to the people, and training of the new personnel. If these goals demanded

changes in people's attitudes and behaviour, then it was not surprising that the CCP met with substantial opposition and obstacles which were present among the people and within the Chinese society.

There were basic problems in introducing the Communist ideology to the Chinese people and in Chinese education. The residue of traditionalism which informed the behaviour of the people in terms of certain basic values and attitudes, the impact of 'liberalism' which dominated the intellectual and political climate in pre-liberation times, and the 'remnants' of the educational system which was influenced by foreign models, together created various difficulties for the CCP when it set out to implement new social and educational policies in 1949.

2. The Residue of Traditionalism

Traditionalism persisted in the form of the prevalent social order of the Chinese society, the family system, allocation of authority, the interrelationship between education and government.

The Chinese social order was still basically patriarchal. The emphasis on respect for the father, the obligation of absolute family loyalty and filial piety created a frustrating conflict of role between the modern 'rebellious' revolutionary man and the traditional filial son or daughter. The symbol of the old order of loyalty was manifested also in making no criticism of one's family and friends. If the dictatorship of the Party required the devotion of the people's loyalty and 'correct' behaviour toward not the family or clan but to the Party, then the Party would have to introduce a new social order, with new definitions of human relationships.

Feudalism might have long been abolished, and the traditional civil examination system was abolished in 1905, but the rule of the patriarchal-feudal class of local landlords and the gentry continued. In the past, the traditional patterns of power and authority were maintained by the three interlocking sectors of Chinese society: the state, the gentry and the local commoners, mainly peasants. The legitimacy of the state was sustained by the ethos of Confucianism, which had been institutionalized in the organization of government, both the monarchy and the bureaucracy. The gentry, on the other hand, was supported by the civil examination system, as the official link between the state and the local social systems. However, membership of the gentry was open, and commoners could rise to join the gentry; though the requirements of leisure and money for study tended to restrict education and the chances of succeeding in examinations to sons of the gentry and the bureaucracy. The gentry, consisted of local officials, the landlords who belonged to prestigious and wealthy local families, and the 'notables' who enjoyed great prestige given to them as a result of their learning in the Confucian high culture.

This structure of past authority continued to persist. The traditional official was an educated man whose position gave him the power of command but whose education gave him an even greater authority - founded on the respect held by all Chinese for the man of learning. Naturally, the position of the teacher was both exalted and honourable, for he was the embodiment of culture and learning. The traditional respect of the Chinese peasants for learning and education, and their passivity and subordination toward the educated scholar-official class, remained.

This kind of mentality, according to the Chinese Communists, contributed

to the perpetuation of a stratified Chinese society echoing the Confucian social order of ranking the scholar before the peasants, the artisans and the merchants. The ideal of the CCP to create a classless society under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the Party would not be realized if the gentry-mentality persisted among the people.

It was also true that the close relationship between education and government, enhanced by the civil examination system in the past, brought about a general aspiration of the people to study so as to become a scholar-official. Young students, under the influence of the state and the family, tended to concern themselves only with getting through examinations rather than with social problems or their cognitive development. They strove to become a scholar as a means to become an official, so that they and their families would share the privilege and prestige of the gentry and bureaucracy. The emphasis on personal development encouraged the escalation of the character trait of 'individualism' in the individual, and it is obvious that it went against the socialist morality of the state of 'selflessness' and the need of the individual to subject to Party decision on what would be most beneficial to the interests of the people and the country.

Classical education was still highly regarded by the people, and classical learning instructed most of the educated people's behaviour and attitude toward modernization and westernization during the pre-liberation period. It took the Chinese almost a whole century (since the Opium War of 1840 when China came into direct contact with the West) to adjust to the influx of western ideas and modernization. In the past, the old system of education and its examination system reinforced the learning of the 'classics' and the 'histories' as the

embodiment of the essence of Chinese culture and the principles of literature, philosophy, government and politics. As a result, the Confucian outlook dominated the approach of the educated people toward science and technology, commerce and finance, war and diplomacy, and even creative arts. Despite a few scholars who sought knowledge from other schools of thought or from foreign scholarship, the majority of Chinese students was limited to the Confucian interpretation of the world and society, the Confucian-oriented historical precedent, and the Chinese experience, which was one of intellectual isolation. Confucian humanism⁷, with its emphasis on the world of man and not the world of nature, created a passive attitude of the people in dealing with the physical environment. Confucius' veneration of the past generated a sense of cultural continuity and social stability, but it also nurtured a spirit of 'conservatism' among the people in their strong reaction toward new ideas and change.

Dialectical materialism projects the universality of contradictions. For Mao, all antagonistic contradictions entail the juxtaposition of forces which must lead to a violent confrontation, even though non-antagonistic contradictions might be resolved peacefully. Still, the juxtaposition of opposites led not to harmony but to an ongoing struggle, with one defeating or eliminating the other. Such an ideology of great change and class struggle would need time to take root in Chinese society. Mass mobilization was as much a policy to generate support from the people for the implementation of new policies as a measure to raise the social and political consciousness of the people. Unless the people internalized the new socialist values as they did before with the Confucian ethos, they would continue to resist or doubt the meaning of the new ideology and retreat back to the Confucian ethos which first gave meaning to their experience.

3. The Impact of Chinese Liberalism on the Intellectuals during the Pre-Liberation period

The alliance of the liberal intellectual community and the CCP in 1949 was only a temporary reconciliation of the contradiction between the freedom of the liberals and the equality of the Communists. They joined together in order to destroy their common enemy - the inequities inherent in Chinese society, but after the task has been completed, it was anticipated at least by the liberals that there would be a chance to resume the old relationship of mutual opposition.

Prior to the Communist victory, the intellectuals were confronted by a choice between the KMT, which they had found lacking in virtually all aspects of political principles and performance, and the CCP, whose political principles were regarded as the negation of some of the liberal community's commitments to a new democratic society. However, as their position toward the Nationalist government hardened into one of total alienation, and as the KMT's military defeat became inevitable, the orientation of the intelligentsia toward the Communists shifted from reserved disapproval to qualified support. The liberals might have rationalized their decision to accept Communist rule, but there was no indication that they would extend their unequivocal support to the new regime or that their compromise was fundamental or permanent. Their commitment might, at the most, be extended to the Communist programme of the new democracy and beyond to the realization of a socialist economy, but certainly not to the ultimate objective of one-party rule by the CCP. The strain between the liberal intellectuals and the CCP was clearly reflected in the subsequent policy of the CCP toward the intellectual community in subjecting them to repeated re-education campaigns. (The details of which will be dealt with in

the later Chapter on the Debate over the issue of Red and Expert.)

The concern of the CCP for the continuation of the 'old liberal commitments' was consistent right from the beginning of their regime. Their fear lay in the possibility of people having these commitments becoming a potential source of serious dissent. Mao wrote in 1945 saying that:

We need large numbers of educators and teachers for the people, and also people's scientists, engineers, technicians, doctors, journalists, writers, men of letters, artists, rank-and-file cultural workers.... Provided they serve the people creditably, all intellectuals should be esteemed and regarded as valuable national and social assets...⁸

Intellectuals were essential for the construction of a new society. According to Mao, the proper course was 'to unite with them, educate them, and give them posts according to the merits of each case'. Mao anticipated the realities of the opposition from the liberal intellectuals, but his strategy was first to win them over and then re-educate them. While the CCP remained highly suspicious of the intellectuals, the liberal intellectual community had reasons to doubt the Communists, especially in their conception of democracy under the leadership of the Party, their restrictions upon individual freedoms - in particular the expression of political criticism and dissent - and their emphasis on the masses overlooking the individual.

The rationale for the Communist regime to carry out 'thought reform' was that the 'old society' (everything pre-dating Communist rule, but particularly the Nationalist period) was 'evil and corrupt'. It was because society then was dominated by the 'exploiting classes' - the landowners and the bourgeoisie; and most of the intellectuals came from these 'exploiting classes' or from the closely related petty

bourgeoisie; and therefore they retained 'evil remnants' of their origins and of the old regime. So each must rid himself of these 'ideological poisons' in order to become a 'new man' in the 'new society'. Other than consolidation of the new regime, the CCP saw the need to undermine all oppositions, especially those adhering to the old liberal commitments.

It has been suggested that a Chinese tradition of humanism, Western missionary education, and the large proportion of teachers and professors who had received advanced training abroad, particularly in the United States and Western Europe, all contributed to the Chinese intelligentsia's acceptance of the Western concepts of political liberalism.⁹

By the late 1940s, the development of a modern liberal climate was clearly established among the intelligentsia. Following the tradition of political activism originated from the May Fourth Movement of 1919,¹⁰ students took to the streets in spontaneous outbursts of opposition to the policies of the KMY during the Civil War period. The intellectuals publicized their views in newspapers and periodicals. The most widely read liberal publications of the Civil War period survived until 1948. They were the 'Ta Kung Pao' (Impartial Daily),¹¹ and 'Kuan-ch'a' (The Observer), a weekly journal published in Shanghai. Both of which served as a reliable source of information on the political liberalism of the intelligentsia during the Civil War years which the CCP considered as a source of opposition.

The opinions and arguments presented in the publications were based on the liberal view of politics and society. It was held that the interests of the nation and of its people would best be served through

the realization of democracy, freedom, progress, and rationality in political and economic life. For them, democracy meant that "the government's action must be in accordance with the decisions of the people and in all that it does, the government must be responsible to the people. Democratic government exists for the welfare of the people; to guarantee their freedom and to promote their happiness." The liberals demanded "freedom" and various basic "human rights". Since freedom was not licensed, it must be law-abiding. "But the law must first guarantee the freedom of the people and must make everyone equal before the law." For progress, they demanded full modernization in politics, economics, society, education and military affairs. They also claimed that without rationality, society could not be secure and culture could not progress. Here, rationality was used in opposition to the prevalent stress by the KMT and in education of the reliance on force to resolve disorder. They believed that "only with the development of rationality will society begin to be able to differentiate between right and wrong and begin to have peace and public morality."¹³

When the liberals began attacking the KMT for having betrayed the political mandate that in principle legitimated its right to govern, it did not mean that they subscribed to Sun Yatsen's Three People's Principles; since the three Principles of 'Nationalism', 'Democracy' and the 'People's Livelihood' meant different things to different people. Nevertheless, they summed up in a very general way the three most basic political concerns of the intellectuals. While the liberal critique of the National government was centred on the three inter-related issues of corruption, incompetence, and the Civil War,¹⁴ they gave positive expression to their ideological commitments to the forms of state and society they wanted. Many of the intellectuals were faced

with the difficult problem of their simultaneous devotion to the ideals of socialism and democracy.¹⁵ Despite the controversy over how much socialism and how fast, and what kind of democracy, there was general agreement concerning the basic political structure within which they could work out their arguments. The structure was a coalition government to be arrived at in accordance with the general formula worked out by the Political Consultative Conference at its meeting in January 1946.¹⁶ They were envisaging a reorganization of the government with the participation of the various political parties. "This government will then be used in the convocation of a national assembly and writing of a constitution. It will be a transitional government to be replaced by democratic general elections and a constitutional government."¹⁷ Their ideal government was that of a democratic constitutional government for China.

So it was natural for them to oppose the CCP's advocacy of 'one-party rule'. For them, this was certainly not democracy. The liberals were almost by definition opposed to the political practices and institutions associated with the Communist rule. They believed that in a coalition government, one party could serve as a check upon the other and both might be induced to change from special 'revolutionary-type' organizations into ordinary political parties. They objected to the CCP's restrictions on individual freedoms. To them, there could be no democracy without freedom of thought. It was understandable that the ideological orthodoxy and dogmatism of the CCP, its monopoly of power, seemed to have violated the fundamental tenets of the liberal creed of democracy and freedom. Thus, in the later period during the 'Blooming and Contending'¹⁸ period of open criticism in May, 1957, there was great clamour for 'political freedom', organizational independence',

and 'equality of position'. There were the demands for a distinction between government and the Party. Others demanded the early formulation of civil and criminal codes and held that the rectification campaign was no substitute for a legal system. Some suggested that the system of Communist Party committees in government departments and educational institutions should be replaced by that of administrative committees, vested with the power and authority of management and control. When they demanded a free scope for intellectuals and for academic divergences, freedom to write and publish in literary and arts circles, the CCP moved in and accused them of restoring the capitalist road of subscribing to the leadership of the bourgeois intellectuals - therefore opposing the leadership of the Party. Though the criticisms were silenced by Party intervention through another Anti-Rightist struggle from June till the end of the same year, it is clear that the old liberal beliefs remained among the people and they would continue to express themselves in their criticism of the Communist regime.

As Mao summed up the experience of the rectification campaign, he said that the 'bourgeois intellectuals' remained 'bourgeois', ready to foul the air and corrupt the atmosphere the moment a chance was provided to them. Notwithstanding years of ideological remoulding, and beneath the thin socialist veneer, they remained the same old unrepentant, unreformed 'intellectuals'. Therefore, the problem of the intellectual in 1949 will remain until the Party has nurtured its own elite, which would gradually supplant older 'bourgeois intellectuals' or their offspring.¹⁹

4. Borrowing of Foreign Models of Education

Since the abolition of the imperial examinations in 1905, Chinese education had been structured according to the tertiary form of primary, middle and higher education, patterned on the Japanese, American, and German-French systems respectively. The foreign models might have failed to bring about significant changes in Chinese education; Western doctrines of 'liberalism' which stressed freedom, competition, individualism and technical proficiency had contributed to the liberal idealism of the time, shared by many who were involved in education.

The education system which the CCP inherited in 1949 was a complicated, diversified and irregular system of schools²⁰ (Refer to Table 2). The Communists criticised the 'old system of education' for cultivation of an elite and for producing only a small group of individualistic specialists who were removed from the masses. It was true that to a large extent the basic attitude of the Chinese people toward education had not changed. The abolition of the examination system in 1905 left young people uncertain regarding their professional prospects after graduation. The main goal of study had been - and most probably still was - to enter government as officials. Some of them came to regard schooling as a means to acquire qualification, so as to continue studying in universities or abroad. Most young people refused to go into productive work after graduation. So, in order to meet the demands of the people, both the government and the missionary organizations from the West set up one university after another to give the young graduates certificates and diplomas which could neither guarantee them a job nor a future. While many still looked up to the status of the 'scholar-officials' as 'pillars of society' and despised any involvement in the work of production, they also lacked the ability to work.

According to a rough estimation, during the pre-liberation period, universities offering arts courses were ten times greater in number than those offering studies in science. The ordinary middle schools were over thirty times more than the vocational schools. For example, in the province of Hubei, there were five universities (including both the state-run and privately-run institutions), all of them offered only studies in arts subjects. There were around twenty middle schools, but they had only two vocational schools. And they offered predominantly general academic education.²¹

Despite the setting up of a complicated system of schools, and the urge of the government and the educators at that time to promote productive education and rural education, the quality of education varied from one institution to another, and from one city to another. Most of the subjects taught in school were far from practical, the content was superficial and the compilation of teaching material rigid. As a matter of fact, most of the textbooks were written in the old literary style. Attempts had been made to change the passive mode of instruction and learning by direct instruction and rote learning to the modern method of discovery. The discrepancy between the new intellectuals and the old scholars in their approach toward teaching and learning was reflected in the irregularity of academic standards among the universities and middle schools. Students continued to be assessed according to their performance in examinations, which might bear no relation to the students' physical or cognitive development, nor their ability to work in society.

Women's education was basically limited to girls' middle schools and girls' vocational schools. The number of enrollments was always small. Higher education for women was first offered by the missionaries who

came to set up universities. The more well-known ones were the Women's University in Yenking, the Chinling Girls' University in Nanking, and the Wahnan Girls' University in Foochow. The aim of women's education was always considered as a way to train 'worthy wives' and 'good mothers', the role of women in society and duty to the country. In many ways, women's education did not change too much from this traditional concept, except that it became more and more an organized course of training. Co-education was allowed in 1912 up to the level of lower primary school. In 1919, girls were allowed to sit in for lectures at universities. And in 1921, all universities in Peking admitted girls. That was the beginning of education for women and not women's education as such.

Education before 1919 was based on the Japanese model of a centralized system of education administration. Local administration was actually banned in 1914. The Ministry of Education in Peking was responsible for the management of education throughout the country. Other than the formal schooling system, the Japanese model provided a supplementary system of specialized schools and schools for technical education in agriculture, industry and commerce.

Upon the invitation of Tsai Yuan-pei (蔡元培), the President of Peking National University, John Dewey, visited China in 1920. He brought with him the new concept of democratic education,²² emphasis on self-development and self-government, which fitted in so well with the New Culture Movement at that time (between 1917-23). Dewey regarded democratic education as education in relation to all people, to society, so as to make it convenient to the people and not just for the minority noble class or the privileged few. The Chinese, under the influence of the new ideas of democracy, wanted education to break away from the old elitist system, so that the ordinary people could go to school too. Other than

the adoption of a national language, the government also endorsed the policy of laissez-faire in school administration; and in 1922, the Ministry of Education adopted the Dewey-type objectives of developing the democratic spirit in schools, encouraging the free development of individuality and linking education with the problems of life.

The Communists would not have objected to Dewey's idea of 'education is life and school is society'²³ and the opening up of the doors of education to the people. However, Dewey's progressive ideas on education were based on the principles of 'equal opportunity and free competition' and he encouraged the free development of the individual. When the call for breaking away from the old moral system came with the fervour of the May Fourth Movement in 1919, many students took to the extreme of 'individualism' to develop their individuality and justified their interference in politics. Free expression meant not only public demonstration of their grievances; strikes and boycotts were a common weapon used in the classroom to protest against school authority, examinations and anything they did not like doing. Many began to absent themselves from school, refused to study and resented all regulations and discipline. The government had tried to instruct schools to restore training and strict discipline, but they never intervened.

Autonomy of school management kept the government away from the real problems of the schools and this led to irregular development in Chinese education before 1949.

The seeds of 'individualism' were sown. Freedom in education was emphasized in allowing free scope for intellectual pursuits and self-development. The CCP's claim to absolute doctrinal authority, to the 'correctness' of its solution and the Party's control over education would inevitably have clashed with this 'liberal' view of education

held by most of the intellectuals.

China adopted the American model of the school system in 1922. And Chinese education remained more or less unchanged in both form and content for the next two decades. There were a few innovations in the introduction of education for production and extension of education to the rural areas, but they were never fully institutionalized. The impact of the American system created problems in Chinese education during the Civil War years, and similar problems appeared when the CCP took over.

In the 1920s, American society had reached a certain level of advanced industrialized capitalism. Thus their education policy was mainly to produce industrial and technical personnel, and their education system was adapted to serve this purpose. But when it was imported to China, the system created difficulties and did not serve the needs of Chinese society.

In the first place, primary education was one-tracked throughout the country, whereas secondary education was divided into general education, teacher training and vocational schools. Only the ordinary secondary schools were regarded as being within the formal system; the other two types were subsidiary, and therefore second-rate. Differentiation of schools into various types, while placing strong emphasis on the formal system, created disparity among the students: those who were less capable were kept outside the formal school system.

As far as curriculum was concerned, all junior middle schools offered only academic subjects. And most of the teaching material was adopted from American text-books. In the Report of the Institute of International Education Cooperation (1932), the widespread use of foreign

materials was mentioned, which had no relevance to the 'realities' of China. Though the government had ordered the introduction of subjects like agriculture, engineering and commerce into the curriculum of the senior middle schools, the core of the curriculum was still centred on the study of academic subjects and had the purpose of preparing the students solely for further education. Education in China at this time was far from being universal, her education system still aimed at producing an educated minority, and technical education was regarded as second-rate. Therefore, not many young people would want to go into vocational training.

In the United States, universal education was established in the 1920s, compulsory education was extended from seven years to nine. And the old school system was changed from 8:4 to 6:3:3. It did not shorten the length of the primary education; as a matter of fact, it extended primary education into the three years of junior secondary education. And almost all who graduated from the primary schools had no problem in getting into secondary schools, so it did not affect the opportunity of children attending schools. However, it was different in China: the average person's financial situation was poor, and those who could afford to move on to secondary schools were less than five per cent.

When China adopted the American school system of 6:3:3 in 1922, primary education was actually reduced from seven years to six. It meant that ordinary children had at least one year less of education. The adopted American school system also implied that children having reached the age of twelve would move on to secondary school. In China, primary schools were essentially different from secondary schools in terms of the content and structure of learning. In Chinese society, children of twelve were not ready for secondary school, which might be divided

into three-year junior classes and three-year senior classes, actually having similar curricula. The American model provided fifteen subjects (refer to Table 2) of study, yet not many of them were really useful to the students. In reality, many could not handle the demands of such a heavy curriculum and had to withdraw from school after the first three years in junior middle school. And because the things they learned in school were mainly academic subjects, they were in need of a skill which could enable them to get a job. This dilemma applied also to those who managed to finish the senior middle school, but could not make it to university. The six years of secondary education earned them a certificate which could not guarantee a future after graduation.

On the other hand, the initiation of setting up vocational schools was slow to materialize. There were only one or two vocational schools in the big cities in each province. Eighty per cent of the farming communities did not have any vocational training facilities. The main problem of the vocational schools was that their curricula were too diversified; many of the subjects offered were suitable for an industrialized society, but had no application in an essentially agricultural society. Another drawback was the shortage of qualified staff to train the students in useful skills. So, technical training was never substantial enough to be of sufficient use for students completing the course to participate in productive work.

At the level of higher education, there were three types of educational institution: the universities, specialized colleges and graduate schools. Due to the slow development of Chinese industry and the very nature of Chinese society at that time, the division of higher education into three types was not only repetitive, but also confusing. In ancient China, the function of the 'university' was to train high-

Age	Levels of Education	Types of School			Curricula	
25 23 22 18	HIGHER EDUCATION	Formal School system	Supplementary schools		Formal School system	Educational innovations 1. Education for production 2. Development of rural Education - Setting up of Teacher Training School in villages - Community Education - Setting up of Research Colleges for Village Development
		Graduate Schools for Research Studies				
		Arts science & Agricultural Studies	Professional Schools in Industry, Agriculture Commerce, Art & Music			
		UNIVERSITY				
15 12	SECONDARY EDUCATION	Senior Middle School	Teachers College	Higher Vocational School	Local supplementary School	Ethics Military Training (In addition to the 15 subjects listed below)
		Junior Middle School		Junior Vocational School		1. Civics 6. Botany 11. Geology 2. Hygiene 7. Zoology 12. Physical Training 3. Chinese language 8. Chemistry 13. Art 4. English 9. Physics 14. handicraft 5. Arithmetic 10. History 15. Music
6	ELEMENTARY EDUCATION	Senior Primary School	Supplementary School		1. Civics 2. Hygiene 3. Chinese Literature 4. Social Studies 5. Nature Studies 6. Arithmetic 7. Physical Training 8. Art & Craft 9. Music	
		Junior Primary School				
		Kindergarten			1. Reading & Writing 2. Civics & Nature Studies 3. Music 4. Art & Craft	

Source : Chen Qingzhi, Zhongguo Jiaoyu Shi, (A History of Chinese Education), Commercial Press, Taiwan, 1963.

ranking officials. The universities of modern China had not broken away from the tradition, and the function of the other two kinds of institutions was never clearly defined or understood by the people.

Besides, there was a tendency to over-emphasize higher education at the expense of lower levels. According to rough estimation, in 1944 there were 39 universities, with a total enrollment of 45,028 students; the 50 independent colleges had an enrollment of 17,550 students and student population of only 8,269 in 54 technical institutes.²⁴

Technical education was not permitted to catch up with the liberal arts university-type of higher education.

Moreover, Western trained personnel and graduates of Chinese institutions tended to stay in the cities and refused to go to the rural areas because of the lack of economic prospect there. As a result, there was a heavy concentration of higher institutions and of intellectuals in urban coastal areas, especially in the three big cities of Peking, Shanghai and Canton. For example, at one time Peking had 30% of all China's colleges and 41% of the total student population.

In brief, the education system which the CCP inherited in 1949 was an education system catering for the ordinary children of appropriate school ages.²⁵ There was no attention given to the early 'drop-outs' or adults. Education was still for the few who could afford it, and its content remained remote from the realities and requirements of modern China.

However, it should be noted that new ideas on education emerged despite the persistence of the old system of education. There were suggestions that education should be based on technical and labouring concepts, a unified and centralized system of administration and control to

ensure required standards, a unified examination system at the end of secondary schooling to check the students' standard, and restricting students from going abroad.

A proposal to reform the education system was drafted, to combat the shortcomings of the 1928 education system adopted from the American model. Briefly, formal education was to be divided into three stages and five levels: the first level was called basic education, and included three years of kindergarten, four years of lower primary school and three years of higher primary school, making a total of seven years' primary education. The second level was to be called labour and vocation training, to be divided into five years of junior and four years of senior classes. There were three types of school at the junior level: the junior teachers' colleges, village labour schools and urban labour schools, the purpose of which was to develop in the students some general vocational skills. The senior level had only two types of school: the higher teachers' college and the professional school. The third stage was for academic education, and was conducted in different types of research institutes of varied specializations; these had no fixed period of study. Attention was given to special education when it too was divided into four levels.

- The first was the primary school, which lasted for one to three years for those who were under the age of thirteen. The second level was the supplementary school for children aged between thirteen and eighteen, and had no fixed period of study. The third level was supplementary education for adults above the age of eighteen. The fourth level was composed of free discussion forums organized by individuals.

It was also suggested that all cities and counties should set up their own primary schools according to the number of children reaching school

age. The provincial authority would be responsible for setting up labour schools, both in the cities and in rural areas. And the state would be responsible for the setting up of the higher teachers' colleges and research institutes.

Although the above proposals never came into being, they pointed to the new ideas of Chinese education and indicated the direction in which future education should develop. The Communist educational revolution did not happen in a vacuum, it had roots in the innovations of the pre-liberation period, when the concept of labour, vocational education was beginning to formulate and that education should be 'practical, scientific, equal and unified'.

On the other hand, it was against such a system of education that the CCP had to introduce socialist education, to bring about literacy among the people and to increase educational opportunity for the peasants and workers.

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PART TWO

INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMUNIST
IDEOLOGY - CONFLICTS IN
MAJOR EDUCATIONAL DEBATES

INTRODUCTION

An Analysis of Conflict and Political Culture in the PRC

The success of the Communists in establishing the PRC in 1949 can be attributed not only to the ability of the CCP to organize the vast peasant population and to mobilize them into a revolutionary force under the leadership of Mao Zedong, but also to the unified desire of the Chinese people to regain national sovereignty and territorial integrity after long years of foreign aggression and the turmoil of civil war.¹ The new ideas of the Communist ideology appealed to the ordinary people not so much as a new system of political thought in support of an abstract ideal, but more as a feasible solution to solve the perennial problem of establishing a morally interdependent society which would survive in the modern world. Besides, the revolution promised the people an end to exploitation by the warlords and satisfied their desire for a better society and a better way of life. In 1946, a group of college professors expressed their views about political change, they said:

We have become so completely convinced of the hopelessness of the existing government that we feel that the sooner it is removed the better. Since the Chinese Communists are obviously the only force capable of making this change, we are now willing to support them as the lesser of two evils. We ourselves would prefer a middle course, but that is no longer possible.²

Mao utilized the indigenous heritage of moral ideals and the traditional ethos of interdependence³ to develop an ideology which focused on the external instrumentalities for a person to realise his inner moral nature. The mass enthusiasm, as exhibited in the late 1950s, was based on optimism that China was advancing toward an era of moral and material progress, where the whole society -

the state, the city, the village and the family - was slowly merging into a new pattern of socialism, especially through the campaign of collectivization. Such optimism would hold only if the new social order and economy yielded immediate and positive results. However, when recalcitrant realities became increasingly apparent, the new optimism declined into disillusionment, and solidarity weakened. With the emergence of social disintegration, the Communist order would be at stake.

Mao was well aware of the dichotomous situation between the traditional values and the new ideology, which had created among the people, especially the intellectuals, a kind of scepticism about and belief in a totalistic, morally transformed and politically dominated social order. Mao recognised the existence of potential opposition, both within the Party leadership and between the different classes in society, especially when the Chinese leadership as well as the people were not a unified homogeneous body. This period of socialist transition was inevitably marked by the continuation of a class struggle, which also existed within the Party itself. Mao spoke of the various degrees of being Marxist.⁴ So he advocated the dialectical approach of achieving unity on the basis that no damage was done to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism; thus, comrades with different views should be accepted and those who had made mistakes should first be criticized, then united. Implicit in this principle of integration was a degree of flexibility, and the unity of opposites was also a suggestion of compromise. As a result, any policy outcome could be regarded as a product of disunity and struggle. Over any particular issue, there might be a line-up of different factions on either side of the 'two-line front', thus giving rise to the 'two-line struggle' throughout the past thirty years.

During the civil war between 1945-49, circumstances called for the unity of opposites, so the CCP had to join up with the lesser enemies, the bourgeoisie and the conservative intellectuals to fight against the major enemy. At that time, the major enemy were the nationalists - the Kuomintang, the Nationalist Party, led by Chiang Kai-shek (蔣介石). After the war, when the CCP had to embark on tasks of national reconstruction, divergence of opinions began to surface in party debates and public discussion up and down the country, making the implementation of policies very difficult. It has been argued that differences of opinion occurred only on policy priorities. As far as the goals and principles were concerned, it has been assumed that there was consensus. But a critical analysis of the protean evolution of Chinese education in the past thirty years reveals that the differences of opinion were too great just to be mere differences of emphasis or degree, they actually represented essential differences of kind. In fact, the divergent opinions involved basic ideological incompatibility between the traditional and old values and the new, revolutionary socialist values.

The ideological polemics of the CCP, especially those related to education, are significant indicators of the nature and scale of the division among party leaders. In Chinese Communist politics there is often the tendency to escalate an ideological conflict. For example, a struggle over certain values could easily become a situation where the aims of the conflicting groups are not only to gain the desired values but also to eliminate opposition views. The struggle changed from one which was 'among the people' to that of 'between ourselves and the enemies', in which one side had to categorically denounce the other as counter-revolutionary. The scope of the attack would expand infinitely until the opposition was completely eliminated. And in the process of

the struggle, the true nature of the ideological differences was usually being obscured and gave way to a political conflict; when one section of the Party perceived that their goals and preferences were being threatened, the opposing parties sought to expand their area of influence, so solutions had to be sought in the confrontation of the 'two camps'. In this way, nearly all educational problems became inseparable from the political struggle.⁵ This period of socialist transition in China is therefore characterized by a continual struggle by the left in opposition to the 'right-revisionists'.

Most educational debates in China reflect both the essential differences of public opinion and disagreement among the leaders, and they often escalated into political struggles. Any educational conflict^{is} closely related to the political and sociological, as well as cultural setting in which the conflict arises.

The mode of conflict regulation in a society can usually suggest the type of conflict relations that society has. The degree to which conflict has been institutionalized gives the conflicts certain characteristics which are easily distinguished.⁶ The Chinese Communist political system greatly facilitates the centralization of conflicts, especially group conflicts. It projects uniformity outwardly, but breeds uninstitutionalized conflicts inwardly. Therefore, the outbreak of sudden and violent conflicts is highly probable; though chronic recurrence of unsettled issues would take the form of continuous class struggle. However, the absence of voluntarily agreed-upon procedures for regulating relations led to the discharge of latent political conflicts with such an intensity that they erupted during the Cultural Revolution in 1966.

In the PRC, the integration of state and society is predominantly dependent on the unitary organization of the CCP. So elite dissension is basically disruptive and has to be suppressed through reforms. Since political institutions dominate the Chinese Communist government, nearly all conflicts are politicized. The process of politicization heightens the awareness not only of the elite but also of the masses on the issue of authority relationships. In short, it raises considerably the consciousness of authority-subject relations. According to Dahrendorf, authoritative relations in society are the fundamental source of group conflict.⁷ The tactics of total politicization thus constantly provoke conflict. As a result, it is difficult to distinguish conflicts over norms from those over values. Thus a strike for high wages, for example, is both a political challenge as well as a means of gaining economic improvement.⁹ Conflicts in Communist society tend to escalate into open and violent conflict situations, when conflict resolution is sought only through a power struggle where one group has to eliminate the opposing group to seize or secure power. The so-called 'line-struggle' in China was a continuous open conflict between the 'Maoists' and the 'Liuists' which involved the whole personalities of the leaders of the groups. Unfortunately, the 'educational front' has been used to fight their battles.

In China, social and economic changes are inseparably part of the whole process of nation-building. These changes are compounded by political changes which are reflected in very drastic changes of government policies. Mark and Snyder point out that social changes inevitably shift "the bases of potentially antagonistic interests and the relative power position to individuals and groups".⁹ The co-operativisation movement in the rural areas, the mass-line mode of administration, the shifting

between red and expert policies all created conflicts of different kinds, and each required very different modes of settlement. The effect of economic growth created problems of increasing inequality of income, or even sharpened the dilemma by raising consumption power on the one hand, while on the other maintaining an insufficient supply of purchasable goods.¹⁰ Hence, conflicts are generated very often between the central government and the provinces as well as autonomous regions; between the various 'classes' in society which either benefit from the changes or are deprived; between the peasants and workers, as well as between the cadres and the masses. Whenever the government fails to meet the demands of the people, conflicts surface and create tensions. The CCP, having initially gained power based on populist mass support, at different times lost popularity and had to resort to ideological mass movements to reinstate its dominance. Smelser explains that the Chinese Communist government tends to define protest movements in ideological or value-orientated terms.¹¹ Any upheavals tend to create social disorganization and thereby raise the level of strain in society. Therefore, the mobilization of the masses is more a necessity than a political tactic to integrate the nation. Before the machinery of social order is fully institutionalized, it is necessary for the new regime to establish its legitimacy by employing strong measures.

Furthermore, cultural aspects constitute the attitudinal and psychological behaviour of the people involved in the conflicts. Oberschall states that "discontents and conflicts are found in all social systems, yet some conflicts are more likely to arise in and be chronic to societies with particular social and institutional structures, and once they occur, they are less likely to be resolved in a peaceful manner in some institutional settings than in others."

The cultural factor in a conflicting situation plays the role of defining and activating conflict situations, of legitimizing aggressive acts against certain persons and groups and therefore, giving conflict a general norm of interpersonal relationships. If a strain in the social system is a necessary condition to a collective movement, then that strain is also defined by cultural standards and personal expectations. For example, violence is also subject to norms embedded in the culture. It might be argued that it is impossible for a nation to accept conflict as a central norm, but it is quite likely that a group of leaders may have that orientation.

Mark and Snyder maintain that cultural and social values may either neutralize or dominate conflicting values. In China, traditional values still dominate the new socialist values. And in all cultural conflicts, the role of the elite is significant. Di Palma states that:

...social and economic cleavages, mass attitudes, and demands usually become more relevant and enter the political system when structured and directed by elite and institutions. Moreover, mass beliefs and demands are to some extent affected by communications from the system's elites. Mass cleavages and demands can become critical under certain conditions, but these conditions are largely shaped by elite responses and inducements.¹³

Cultural legitimatization of aggression toward certain groups or individuals is itself a source of conflict. For the past thirty years in China, the elites - the revolutionary cadres of the CCP - carried out this legitimatization against the counter-revolutionaries, the 'elites' of the old society. However, elites might have the potential for inciting strategic aggression. It is equally likely that they can defuse and terminate a conflict situation as they can influence the attitudes and values of their followers. The interaction between the elites and the masses in respect to values and attitudes constitutes

the particular political culture of that nation. Lucian Pye defines it as:

the set of attitudes, beliefs and sentiments which give order and meaning to a political process and which provide the underlying assumptions and rules that govern behaviour in the political system. It encompasses both the political ideals and the operating norms of a policy. Political culture is this manifestation and aggregate form of the psychological and subjective dimensions of politics.¹⁴

In China, the concept of a political culture includes the explicit citizenship training of the "new socialist worker". Conscious learning about the workings of the political system by the people enables them not only to participate but also to respond to the directives of the polity. While the role of the elites lies in creating and maintaining this particular political culture, it is the central concern of the authorities to promote it through political education as well as politicization of education in all aspects.

Major educational debates in China reflect the presence of essential conflicts. Other than the core issues under discussion, other conditions must be present to activate conflict or rather to induce groups of people to engage in conflict, namely, the division among the elite, the loosening of social control and other precipitating events.

The integration of any nation is dependent on the unity and integrity of its top leaders, consequently, prolonged and serious dissension among the leaders leads to the disorientation of the people. The CCP holds the nation together by its proclaimed ideological validity. Once there is an elite division, it signals an opportunity for the assertion of the grievances of the hitherto discontented groups and the probability of conflict is raised. Because the instruments of proletarian dictatorship are employed to maintain social order instead of the

normative order of society, when the political machinery becomes defective as a result of elite dissension, the tendency for various groups to engage in conflict increases. The Chinese political system is highly monistic, but it is also highly conducive to mass group conflict, especially when the effectiveness of social order depends upon the 'exemplary centre'.

Nearly all educational conflicts are ideological and cultural. They are not amenable to settlement through compromise. Lewis Coser once distinguished between realistic and unrealistic types of conflicts.¹⁵ The former arises from the frustration of specific demands within the relationship and from estimates of gains of the participants; the latter types are not occasioned by the contrary aims of the antagonists, but by the need for the release of tension by at least one of them. Thus, such conflicts are obviously difficult to resolve through a trade kind of settlement or negotiation.

The top leaders of the CCP decide the type of social and economic change that China will undergo. Those changes in turn generate various patterns of strain in different social groups. The national elites (members of the CCP) promote distinct types of political culture which define the interpersonal and intergroup relationships. The mobilization of group conflict and the subsequent course of a conflict movement are partly determined by elite action as well, although once a conflict situation is widespread, other factors also contribute to the movement. Ultimately, conflict resolutions are significantly determined by the actions of the authorities.

If the Chinese political leaders have played an important role in creating, developing and terminating conflicts in China, an investigation

into each particular conflict should reveal the effects of social and economic changes engineered by the political elite for the workers in urban areas, the peasants, the intellectuals, the cadres and the youth who constitute the total student population.

In Chapters IV, V and VI, the impact of each educational change on one or more groups will be investigated in order to illustrate the nature of the conflicts. The major educational debates selected for analysis are characterized by their recurrence and sustained arguments. Each side has a clear stand reflecting a conflicting viewpoint. An anatomy of each conflict illustrates the differences and illuminates the possibilities for national integration, not only in terms of political unity, but also on the basis of a philosophical synthesis. Arguments put forward by both the antagonists and protagonists were informative, as they represented their alleged criticisms of each other: individuals or groups attempted to justify their statements, their particular perception of their opponents, and above all their world view.

The debates are, of course, inter-related and they overlap in each of their developments. But for the purpose of analysis, they are treated as separate issues. There is a certain repetition in the discussion, especially when the same event has significant implication in each of the debates.

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CHAPTER FOUR :

THE DEBATE ON POPULARIZATION AND ELEVATION - A PROBLEM BETWEEN
SOCIAL EQUALITY AND THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION1. The Origins of the Debate & Its Development

The development of Chinese education in the past three decades reveals that each time new policies were adopted, the leadership hastened to reiterate the theoretical basis in order to give the new line of development its ideological justification. This was necessary in order to defend the new policies, especially if the leadership anticipated serious opposition or problems in implementation. Each new line of policy actually indicated not only a change of emphasis, but also a new interpretation of the basic principles of Communist ideology.

At the top level of the leadership, Mao and his followers - known as the Maoists or Leftists - took heed to prevent the reappearance of classes, especially the resurgence of the bourgeoisie. Their primary concern was to build a lasting, equal society. However, there were pragmatists, rightists and even counter-revolutionaries who insisted on policies which would raise the quality of education at all costs in order to develop production. For them, all educational policies should be subordinated to the general goals of industrialization. The differences in terms of goals, whether they were long-term or immediate, were great enough to divide the leadership. The constant shift in educational policies reflects the conflicts which hampered the development of education. Reconciliation between these two identified goals is not impossible. However, under the special conditions of scarce resources and economic instability, the chances of reconciliation have been difficult and at times impossible. On the one hand, to foster

social equality, attention was drawn to creating and providing equal educational opportunity for all. This meant large-scale expansion in education at the first and second levels. But, given the very limited resources, equal distribution was almost inconceivable, unless expansion was implemented at the expense of the quality of education. On the other hand, if the standard of education were to be maintained, selection would have to be made to concentrate the available resources on a particular aspect or level of education, which in turn could lead to social discrimination.

Thus, the argument of popularization or elevation lies not so much in the realm of goals, but rather in the interpretation of each of the opposing groups. It is both an inner conflict which involves individuals making a choice between incompatible objectives, and an outer or social conflict which is concerned with the incompatibility between the individuals and other groups of people with different priorities.¹

Mao's revolutionary programme in education, which he propounded especially during the Cultural Revolution period of 1966-69, pointed to the contradiction between equality and quality as he tried to define the intricate relationship between popularization and elevation.

Popularism was an essential element in Mao's conception of the new culture and education as being democratic, which should "belong to the broad masses", i.e. should serve only the mass of workers and peasants.² Popularism was part of the class struggle to continue the revolution. Based on his belief in the class character of culture and education, Mao wrote that, "any given culture is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a

tremendous influence and effect upon the latter; economics is the base and politics the concentrated expression of economics" (1940).³ Mao distinguished the pre-Liberation period of Chinese culture as imperialist and semi-feudal, the former being a reflection of the control of imperialism over China, both politically and economically, the latter being an outcome of the semi-feudal politics and economy; and together they formed a reactionary cultural alliance in opposition to the new democratic culture of the masses. Supporters of the alliance fought to perpetuate only the interests of the exploiting class. Mao spoke of the elimination of the alliance through popularism, which aimed at creating a system of education in which the education of the masses took precedence over all other endeavours. Its ultimate purpose was to change the social meaning of education and the social status of the educated. This was Mao's basic argument in bringing about a revolution in education in the 1960s.

The then Vice-Minister of Education, Chien Chunhui (錢俊瑞), presented a report to the First National Conference on education held in Beijing, May 1950. It was entitled "General Policy of Present Educational Construction".⁴ Its content represented the general view of the Party on the issue of the educational ideal - a theory of class education to serve only workers and peasants.

His main rationale was based on the assumption that education for particular classes had always been an historical fact. Before Liberation, education was to serve the interests of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism; thus education after Liberation should serve the working class and the peasantry. He reckoned that the relationship between politics and education was inseparable; there could be no political neutrals, everyone must choose a side, either to

maintain the government in power or to replace the present government with another. Thirdly, he contended that education should better serve the people rather than a particular class; at this point, he was referring to the six classes⁵ present in Chinese society as propounded by Mao. His argument was that the foundation of the People's Democratic Dictatorship was based on an alliance between the working class, the peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. Together they had formed the main force in winning the revolution, and thus the alliance needed to be strengthened. However, education had favoured children of the middle-level peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie, whereas 80% of the population was composed of workers and peasants, and they and their children had been kept outside the doors of schools. Therefore he argued that education should change and first and foremost serve the workers and peasants.

Chien made six recommendations to implement the policy. Firstly, the education for worker-peasant cadres and the People's Liberation Army was to be reinforced. Secondly, a separate type of spare-time supplementary education especially for the workers was to be established. Thirdly, other than the regular system, supplementary education with the stress on literacy training and political education for the peasants was to be created. Fourthly, special worker-peasant middle schools were to be established to raise the educational level of the advanced workers and peasants, so as to enable them to partake of a higher level of education. Fifthly, all schools must open their doors to workers and peasants of "appropriate standing" and give them special attention. Lastly, the State should support with its resources a widespread programme to eliminate illiteracy.

It is important to note that the recommendations represent a clearly preferential approach to the workers and peasants, but the emphasis

was mainly on 'supplementary' measures, without any significant changes in the basic structure of the educational system inherited from the pre-Liberation period.

Mao supported this report, for he, too, recognized the need for a literate and technically competent populace for national reconstruction. Then, popularism in this particular context, and at its best should serve the purpose of transforming social relations in the means of production and in the long run promote national development. But, "to intellectualize the proletariat, and to proletarianize the intellectuals" is as much a task as an ideal which takes a long time to achieve. In the second part of his report, Chien attempted to justify an educational policy that would serve productive construction in order to reconcile the practical difficulties of national reconstruction with educational ideals. He drew up two guidelines for the content of education which would ensure the efficient and productive organization of the labour force. They were respect for labour and scientific development and skill-training which should be stressed in the school curriculum. He claimed that putting all available manpower to work in production, strengthening labour education among the working class, and organizing mutual assistance within the agricultural sector would help to promote a general regard for labour.

As far as implementation was concerned, Chien suggested that, within the regular school system, the curriculum should be revised to give emphasis to labour education in elementary schools. This would instill in the children the "correct concepts and habits for the respect and love of labour". However, in the intermediate and middle schools, courses on technical skill-training should be introduced into the school curriculum. In higher education, there should be a combination

of theory and practice; all course work should be directly related to productive construction. Whereas outside the regular school system, special literacy and skill-training courses were to be provided for the worker-peasant cadres and the masses in part-time schools as part of the spare-time education programme. In order to enhance this, a high-level coordination between the administration and the various branches of the economy were to be promoted to organize education in such a way that it would meet the national needs.

Apparently the attempt to institute an overall programme of mass training of middle and lower level skilled personnel had been suggested. But they were all to be implemented on a supplementary basis, with little or no great changes in the basic structure of the educational system itself. However, the task of rapid national reconstruction required not only a plentiful supply of middle level technicians, but also a workforce of highly qualified specialists to initiate and manage programmes of high productivity. The attempt to change the whole educational system was discouraged, in view of the counter-argument that over-emphasis on too early an attempt at specialization would endanger the implementation of the correct educational policy. The report aimed to reconcile educational ideals with the realities of national construction by recognizing the practical difficulties inherent in an educational policy to serve the workers and peasants. However, no attempt was made to solve the complex problem of introducing an education system which would contribute to economic development. The basic contradiction between the concept of mass education and education for productive construction gave rise to the national debate on popularization and elevation. The difference of opinion on this issue was complicated by political allegiances, resulting in a

substantial conflict situation. This finally erupted into a political struggle in the Cultural Revolution.

It is true that during the course of the thirty years of development of Chinese Communist education, the leadership had at various stages adopted significant measures to popularize education, but the subsequent outcome always prompted either criticism or rejection. At the beginning, there was always a call for the abandonment of the new policies, followed by a reversal to the less revolutionary measures which emphasized the need for higher standards of education as a solution to solving the problems created by the previous 'over-popularization' policies. At one level, this reflected the essential differences of opinion among the leadership on the goals of educational reforms; social equality involved the complex issues of the overall distribution of privilege, opportunity as well as status, and they could each be a goal for education. On another level, there were fundamental difficulties of policy implementation on a nationwide basis. It implied that a large number of different participants at all levels of society should cooperate. In order to illustrate the extent of the differences with regard to goals and the conception of equality, the debate on popularization and elevation will be discussed at each stage of Chinese educational development.

a. Reorganization of Education in 1949

The CCP's initial policy was to implement an educational programme which would be an "education for all"⁶ but with the priority given to the working and peasant classes. The main objective was to improve and not change the then existing school system by expanding the educational opportunity and to arrange the conditions in schools to facilitate the

change in the composition of the educated. The target was set, so by 1951 a new educational system would then be introduced; when the first five-year integrated primary schools were to be built throughout the country, illiteracy would eventually be eradicated.

In order to consolidate the arrangement of education and to expand it at all levels, the primary phase of education was shortened to five years to replace the previous six years, aiming at a gradual universalization of primary education. A great number of special worker-peasant short-term secondary schools were established to provide a three- to four-year curriculum rather than the normal six-year course. People's Universities sponsored by the CCP were set up to train workers and peasants over a duration of four to five years. A scholarship system was established, so that tuition and lodging were free for them. Admission was based on recommendation of the respective working unit to which they belonged. There was no age-limit. In fact, workers attending schools were given full salary as on the job. A clear emphasis was shown on the practicability of education in the curriculum.

The new policies brought about a considerable increase in the number of educational institutions, as well as student enrollment at all levels. The figures showed a significant increase at the primary and secondary levels, whereas higher education was expanding at a comparatively slower rate (refer to Tables 3 and 4). This is a general phenomenon of a popularizing situation aiming at universal primary education. However, the quantitative growth was accompanied by great difficulties. The rate of expansion was not matched by the socio-economic conditions. As a matter of fact, the new five-year primary schools failed to gain support from the masses, especially the peasants. It was an over-estimation of both the speed and degree of economic recovery through

Table 3 : Increase in number of educational institutions in 1953
over the pre 1949 peak

Types of Institutions	Increase in Percentage
Kindergarten	326
Primary School	216
Secondary School	193
Higher Educational Institutions	140

Source : State Statistical Bureau, Ten Great Years, Beijing, 1959.

Table 4 : Number of Students enrolled in various educational
Institutions (In 10,000)

Educational Institutions	Pre 1949 Peak	1949	1953
Universities & Colleges	15.5	11.7	21.2
Secondary Schools	149.6	103.9	293.3
Secondary Specialized Schools	38.3	22.9	66.8
Primary School	2,368.9	2,439.1	5,166.4

Source : State Statistical Bureau, Ten Great Years, Beijing, 1959.

Table 5 : Drop-out Rate/Number in Schools in 1955

Type of Schools	Place	No. of Pupils
Secondary Schools	7 Provinces	9,499
Secondary Schools	Liaoning	8,300
Primary Schools	Guangxi	240,000
Primary Schools	Heilangjiang	120,000

Source : Renmin Ribao, (People's Daily) march 26, 1956.

the process of collectivization in rural areas. Reduction of one year actually meant the addition of another year to the previous four-year lower primary school which the children of the peasant family could barely manage because they were badly needed for family work. (By 1953, the pressure was so great that it was eventually converted back to the former 4:2 system.) Actually, the large-scale expansion was met with the serious problem of shortage of both teachers and teaching materials; these factors combined to make education, especially at primary level, both ineffective and inadequate. The accelerated middle schools for peasants and workers provided an increasingly low quality of education. As a result, this not only prevented most of the graduates from entering into institutions of higher education, but in order to favour their admission, it also led to the lowering of the entrance requirements. While those who did enter found it difficult to follow the course offered, thus presenting serious problems to their respective institutions. In fact, all short-term secondary schools were ordered to suspend admission in July 1955.

The goal to make education serve workers and peasants was frustrated not so much at this point by the insistence of the opposition groups on doing away with the popularization programmes, as it was defeated by the harsh realities of the unbalanced economic development pervading the entire country. In the end, it made uniform improvements of schools throughout the entire nation an impossible demand to meet. Apparent under the particular circumstances was an alternative - to push aside the issue of popularizing education and concentrate on promoting economic development, and to revise the mass-education programmes so that they were better matched with the nation's real conditions.

b. Adoption of the First Five-Year Plan in 1953

The Central Committee of the CCP adopted a general line policy for this period of socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce. Mao stressed a kind of state capitalism, with its purpose set firmly not on making profits but on meeting the needs of the people and the state. He believed that the state alone should have control of the market over the private sector of the capitalist industrial enterprises. He insisted on the planned and proportionate growth of the national economy, to be applicable to the development of state-capitalist economy.

At the same time, Liu Shao-chi (劉少奇) and his supporters clamoured for both speed and quality development. He advocated the "Four Freedoms",⁷ to be granted to peasants in the rural areas. They were to be allowed to hire labour, to engage in private enterprise, to practice usury and to buy and sell land. This, Liu believed, would encourage high productivity and local initiation for the fast development of the rural economy. Po I-po (薄一波) was responsible for the revision of the tax system which guaranteed "equality between public and private enterprises".⁸ (According to the original State Taxation Law of 1949, 3% business tax was levied on sales in wholesale trade, with an exemption for state-owned enterprises.) He proposed that state-owned commercial depots be disgorged, so that the amount of goods in stock could be reduced. By putting them on sale, the state would thereby gain cash and turn it into capital for other investment.

However, both Liu and Po were attacked by the others for trying to promote the development of a rich peasant economy. This was in opposition to the socialist transformation toward a state economy. Po was

criticized for having made unprincipled concessions to the bourgeoisie in both taxation and commerce. Together they were in opposition to Mao's idea of state capitalism. Their proposal suggested the transfer of control of the market into the hands of private merchants, which could result in reinforcing the persistence of the bourgeoisie. In the end, they were condemned for taking a counter-revolutionary line.

In fact, the argument seemed to spring, not from the recognised need for the country to be industrialized or to promote economic growth, but rather from the disagreement over the best way in which to conduct the process. But the dilemma of revolutionizing social relations and increasing production was inherent in the debate.

So, when the Central Committee decided on a new policy of 'heavy-industry development', education was given a new task of manpower training, mainly to train scientists, technicians and administrators, to make the drive toward rapid industrialization possible.

Based on a model of Soviet economic construction - Lenin's New Economic Policy of 1920⁹ - the Chinese government adopted the policy of "borrowing from advanced experiences" and shifted to a strong emphasis on technical training and special effort to develop education in urban and industrial areas. Priority was then given to higher and technical training, over the primary and secondary schools. Inevitably the programmes for eliminating illiteracy and mass education were regarded as secondary. This new line of educational policy was announced in a report by Chang Hsi-juo to the First National People's Congress in July 1955, stressing that education must be subjected to the more general policy of economic development. It read as follows:

For a rather long time to come, the national policy regarding higher primary school and lower secondary school pupils will be to admit a small number of graduates to higher level schooling and to organize the principal part of them in such a way that they will in part engage themselves in industrial production and mostly in agricultural production, particularly in the movement for agricultural cooperatives.¹⁰

It was quite obvious that the new policy was a deliberate attempt to widen the already unbalanced educational opportunities between the urban and rural areas. In a way, it became a kind of restriction for the pupils and primary and secondary schools in the rural areas from going on to higher educational levels. This unequal distribution policy was justified on the grounds that it was an unavoidable phenomenon in response to the nation's economic development.

The outcome of the new policy was a great reduction in the number of institutions of higher learning. The actual number decreased from 227 to 182.¹¹ The reorganizational plan was implemented on the basis of more efficient and economic utilization of the available resources, greater emphasis on scientific and technical education, elimination of foreign-supported institutions, and the strengthening of educational leadership both for planning and administration. Subsequently, three major types of educational institution emerged. They were the comprehensive universities, the multi-subject polytechnical institutes, and the single-subject institutes. (There was a total of 129 colleges under nine different subject areas.¹²) The educational workers were then called to focus on improving the quality of education to ensure a high standard.

Despite Mao's insistence on advocating the policy of "walking on two legs"¹³ as a compromise to bring the benefits of education to all segments of the population by making education available in a variety

of forms other than the regular full-time institutions, the prevailing climate demonstrated a clear preference for quality, even at the expense of equality. This did not only mean a delay in implementing radical reforms in education, but also give an indication of the readiness of the leadership to retain the old educational system as well as to promote values in education which belonged to pre-Liberation times.

Differential development in education eventually created a sense of alienation and therefore rejection among the peasants. This, in turn, deepened the internal contradictions and antagonism among the people. To a large extent, the peasants, who had benefited from the previous policy of 'education for all' and had their aspirations raised toward attaining 'cultural knowledge' as the promise of a better life, were greatly frustrated. Most of the secondary schools were in the cities, and because of government control over admission to advanced schools, competition was keen, and the peasants, who were deemed the underprivileged group, were excluded from the education system.

In July 1955, Mao published his essay on agricultural collectivization,¹⁴ urging the raising of cultural levels and technical standards in every village. Party members, mostly from the Centre and the cities, were despatched to guide collectivization in farms and work with the peasants. Despite the Centre's effort to pacify frustrations among the peasants by reinstating the significance of labour and playing down the importance of schooling, the peasants were forced into a conflicting situation between their aspirations to advanced schooling and their participation in labour. The coexistence of both the internal and external contradictions did not take long to develop into reaction from the peasants. They were trapped in the view of 'culture

and schooling' as opposed to 'labour'. Since they could not possibly afford to send their children to secondary school, the 'good life' they had long wanted became just an illusion. Therefore, it was for the peasants a realistic decision to keep their children at home when they could help to meet the demands of labour shortage in the field.

By 1956, there was a mass exodus of pupils from the primary and secondary schools.(Refer to Table.5) They were either drop-outs or regular absentees. The rejection of the rigid and dogmatic administrative leadership as provided by the central authorities at least yielded a more positive result. The peasant masses organized themselves and started to build their own schools. Within a short time, the so-called 'black market' appeared, and unofficial primary and secondary schools (later these were known as the minban, or privately-run, schools) were established without any official recognition. These schools fell into three categories: the first type was the four-year primary school run by private funds, with official money subsidizing the fifth and sixth years of primary education; the second type had either the fifth and sixth, or the seventh and eighth years of secondary school added, at private cost, to the existing four-year schooling; the third type was run entirely on a private basis, and staffed by teachers invited from the public schools. This move by the peasants was significant. It marked the beginning of some sort of privatization of schools as a possible solution to the problem of popularization of education in the midst of a difficult economic situation - though it appeared at the outset as an open rejection of the governments's educational policy. It revealed the dynamic creativity of the people, and marked a change from 'policy from above' to 'policy from below'.

The minban schools, especially the capped secondary schools, were an

alternative to the regular school system. They could promote education for a wider populace, especially when the country's economy was still striving for a stable footing. In the first place, the operating expenses involved in setting up these schools were borne by the peasants, partly from collective farm funding. Therefore, there was a great reduction in government expenditure. Local party members and cadres were invited as teachers and administrators in the schools. In fact, it enhanced communication from the party, through the teachers to the pupils. When higher education could be made available locally, it helped dissolve parental discontent and restored their aspirations to achieve a 'good life'. As far as educational development was concerned, the minban schools were closely related to local production. Since their schedule did not adhere to the uniform academic year of the regular school system, they were better able to adapt to local conditions and the labour cycle, and be adjusted to set up a more useful and relevant curriculum. As a result, the relationship within the local collective farms was strengthened. In this case, schools actually provided personnel indispensable to the operation of the collective in the jobs of accounting, planning and recording. Schools then played an important role, not only in importing elementary knowledge and agricultural technology, but also in enabling the pupils to engage in productive labour as an integral part of their learning.

And in March 1957, during the Third National Education Administration Conference, the government finally granted official status to the capped secondary schools and issued their recognition that "development of such secondary schools is particularly suited to the rural villages."¹⁵

Based on the capped secondary school model, plans were drafted to

establish privately-run agricultural secondary schools for the purpose of training the acutely needed agricultural engineers at no cost to the government. Lu Ting-yi (陸定一), the then director of the propaganda education section of the CCP Central Committee, restated in the National Conference in 1958 that the privately-run school project was a solution to solve the problem of shortage of technological personnel to develop the countryside. Since these schools would mobilize the energy of the masses to establish mainly technical and agricultural secondary schools, all those primary graduates who could not go on to the full-time schools might still have a chance to receive secondary education. Lu considered this as a well-motivated policy to train primary school graduates to become socialist peasants with culture and knowledge to improve agricultural technology and management of collective farms, which would in the end bring about a great increase in production.¹⁶

These agricultural secondary schools were to be half-labour half-learning educational institutions. They actually combined study with productive work. Ideally, half-a-day was devoted to learning, and the other half to participation in the productive units of the collective farms or in school workshops. The school curriculum was designed to include the cultural subjects of language and literature, mathematics and politics, as well as the technical subjects of agriculture and hygiene. When the pupils participated in production, they became an integral part of the labour force, and indirectly, they helped to solve the problem of technological development and alleviate the problem of labour shortage in the villages. They practically increased the household income and reduced the educational expenses both of the parents and the government.

Other than its meaning in educational development, these new institutions had profound implications. They provided a possibility of creating conditions that would keep manpower training in pace with construction needs. Along with the elevated cultural level of the masses, foundations were laid for the building of the "new socialist worker". It also indicated that there was room for versatile technical education, where technological innovation could occur at the grass-root level. And it was in this general climate of optimism that the Great Leap Forward movement was launched in 1958.

c. The Great Leap Forward 1958

Mao and his supporters had decided to redefine the stage of development of the revolution and to push it more quickly and deeply. This meant promoting revolutionary changes in sectors of society which heretofore had been relatively ignored. Education was then made the major target for fundamental reforms. With the slogan of "much, fast, well to build a socialism without waste", the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress laid down the five principles of the "General Policy of Socialist Construction" in May 1958.¹⁷ It stated that socialist ownership by all people should be enhanced; the technological and cultural revolution should be continued; concurrent development of agriculture and industry with priority placed on heavy industry should be carried out; there should be concentrated guidance, total planning and division and cooperation of labour; lastly, it was the reinstatement of the need to adhere to the mass line in all fields.

Together with the adoption of the agricultural secondary school system, which was to be extended to all levels of education, Lu Ting-yi stated in his speech on "Education Must be Combined with Productive Labour"¹⁸

that the revolution was profoundly significant, requiring education to serve the politics of the working class and to combine with productive labour. He claimed that this was the only way which would bring up pupils as "wholly developed human beings with complete knowledge capable of both mental and physical work". The Directive on Educational Activities of September 1958,¹⁹ issued by the Central Committee specified clearly that schools should build factories and manage farms either alone or with the help of the existing factories or collective farms. And on the other hand, factories and collective farms should build schools. Pupils could work at a factory or in a farm under school management while instruction by the factory or the farm-run schools should be related to production.

The establishment of the People's Commune provided the foundation for the establishment of a production-education system.²⁰ The local community and the educational organization were mutually related, each enhancing the activities of the other. Directly under the commune administrative committee was the education department which was responsible for providing both the junior secondary schools and general primary schools. There were education committees formed in the production brigade and they were to be in charge of the setting up of primary schools and youth clubs. Then there was the education section of the production company which managed kindergartens and nurseries. This system of unifying the political and social units of the local community with a genuine educational network structure seemed to have set the foundation as well as direction of the type of socialist development that would be more suitable to the realities and general conditions of the country.

However, the Great Leap Forward movement pushed on in search of

quantitative growth. The number of schools and student enrollments were reported to have increased by leaps and bounds. (Refer to Table 6) Teachers and students in regular full-time schools were required to participate in productive labour for an average period of three months per year. The part-time schools of various types had more time devoted to labour.

The policy of popularization was intended to open the doors of schools to peasants and workers and re-orientate the intellectuals by making them participate in productive labour. Education of the masses should take precedence over other endeavours in creating a new generation of educated workers to serve the people. But the policy so far had been interpreted in such a way that it was to bring down the intellectuals rather than raising the educational standard of the proletariat. In practice, due to the heavy demand on the students in their participation in productive labour, the standard of education continued to decline. Such a large-scale mobilization of masses involved millions of students and educational workers, and it required an enormous amount of planning and coordination to insure that education did not suffer because of the reduction of classes or study time, and that labour thus expanded would prove productive. Unfortunately, the Great Leap Forward was a highly exaggerated estimate of both the material and human resources and an unrealistic belief in popular enthusiasm. As a result popularization had meant lowering the standard of education and it created confusion and widespread dissatisfaction with the policy among the people.

The main criticism stemmed from a fundamental doubt among the people of the function of the agricultural secondary schools and the meaning of combining education with productive labour. According to those who opposed the policy, education was a specialized area and should only be

Table 6 : Increase in number of schools, students at all levels
within the period of 1958-59

Level of Education	No. of Schools		No. of Students	
Higher Education	1,468	515%	790,000	80%
Secondary Education	118,000	846%	15,000,000	112%
Primary Education	950,000	73%	92,000,000	43%

Source : Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) Editorial, November 1, 1958.

Table 7 : Student Enrollment In Formal Education (1949 - 1979)
In millions

Year	Primary	Secondary	Tertiary	Total
1949	24.39	1.27	0.117	25.78
1950	28.92	1.57	0.137	30.63
1951	43.15	1.96	0.153	45.26
1952	51.10	3.15	0.191	54.44
1953	51.66	3.63	0.212	55.50
1954	51.22	4.25	0.253	55.72
1955	53.13	4.47	0.288	57.39
1956	63.47	6.01	0.403	69.88
1957	64.28	7.08	0.441	71.80
1958	86.40	12.00	0.660	99.06
1959	91.18	12.90	0.812	104.89
1960	93.79	14.87	0.962	109.62
1961	75.79	10.34	0.947	87.08
1962	69.24	8.34	0.830	78.41
1963	71.58	8.38	0.750	80.71
1964	92.95	10.20	0.685	103.84
1965	116.21	14.32	0.674	131.20
1966	103.42	12.97	0.534	116.92
1967	102.44	12.55	0.409	115.40
1968	100.36	14.05	0.259	114.67
1969	100.67	20.25	0.109	121.03
1970	105.28	26.48	0.048	131.81
1971	112.11	31.49	0.083	143.68
1972	125.49	36.17	0.194	161.85
1973	135.70	34.95	0.314	170.96
1974	144.81	37.14	0.430	182.38
1975	150.94	45.37	0.501	196.81
1976	150.06	59.06	0.565	209.69
1977	146.18	68.49	0.625	215.30
1978	146.24	66.37	0.856	213.47
1979	146.63	60.25	1.020	207.90

Source : Ministry of Education.

handled by specialists. Schools should be built by the state. They should be a place for learning and not for production. Thus they had great doubts about how the laymen (they included the workers, peasants and cadres) could guide the professionals (teachers and educational experts). Their argument was that the practice of sending students to rural areas and factories deprived them of the opportunity to pursue their educational goals under the guidance of the trained teachers. While little was learned from examples offered by 'model workers', there might be certain beneficial results deriving from participation in productive labour in terms of physical development and social morality, but intellectual growth had suffered greatly.

This was followed by the retrenchment of 1960. The criticisms from below were not unnoticed. The CCP responded by adopting a series of corrective measures. The shift then was to stress the importance of academic excellence. All attempts to expand were abandoned in favour of consolidation. Practices such as elevating secondary technical schools to the rank of institutions of higher learning, splitting of one school into two, arbitrary reshuffling of teaching personnel, were all discontinued. Schools of inferior quality were either abolished or merged with the others. Efforts were made to universalize primary education by expanding the primary boarding schools. In order to raise the quality of education, the normal teaching timetable was re-established. The time for productive labour was shortened and the Party cadres were instructed not to interfere with academic work.

In 1964, Liu Shao-chi announced that "the new principle was maintenance of the status quo in regard to full-time schools and all-out expansion of half-work half-study schools for the purpose of promoting the latter type of education".²¹ The adoption of the principle of "two kinds of

educational system"²² was Liu's endeavour to harmonize the discrepancy between educational demand and educational resources.

d. The Cultural Revolution 1966

Mao regarded that the policy of the retrenchment would bring about a new pattern of education which was in opposition to the true objectives of the revolution. He considered that the current education system was typically 'elitist education' and helped to perpetuate the bourgeois values. (Mao referred to the bourgeoisie as representative of certain attitudes and ways of life rather than a distinct class). Therefore, he sought to replace it by a revolutionary programme. He believed that through a revolution in education, the status differences associated with occupational varieties would then be eliminated and gradually step by step educational opportunity for all classes in all areas throughout the country could then be realized. But as the education system stood, Mao saw that people who supported the system were seeking to preserve or even create differences between people. The preservation of the old educational system meant the perpetuation of the elitist education of traditional and pre-Liberation days when education was to train leaders and scholars who enjoyed special high status in society.

Mao claimed that he saw massive inequalities persisting in the education system. In the first place, educational opportunities were vastly more plentiful in the cities than in the countryside. Secondly, children from urban middle-class families with educated parents achieved academically more easily than the children of the workers and peasants. They continued to be over-represented at all levels of education. Thirdly, the achievement criteria still left the society with an educated elite enjoying much higher status than

the vast working majority. Bourgeois education at its best selected the most able and raised their level of skill to the highest possible level, therefore, permitting them to maximize their contribution to society, at the same time allowing them to fulfil their own needs for achievement and self-expression. But at its worst, the educational values instilled in this kind of education served to preserve inequality in society, as it tended to create a new scientific technical elite to rule the country. Mao's rationale for rejecting an educational system based solely on achievement criteria was that in the short-run, it protected the position of old China's ruling class and the scholar gentry, and it preserved the situation of the rule by the few. And most important of all, it relied too heavily on the knowledge and skill of the trained specialists. So Mao's revolution in education was an attempt to destroy the 'old inequalities' so as to release the creative potential of the masses.

The type of education which Mao propagated at this time had certain highly revolutionary features. Mao extended the objective of popularization to preferential treatment for the working class and the peasants.²³ He suggested a new policy of admission based on the criteria of recommendation and not examination. The period of schooling was shortened from six years to four years at the primary level and five years at the secondary level. Courses in higher education were to last no longer than four years. By reducing most of the specialized studies to two years, it would prevent the alienation of students from the masses due to the long duration of schooling. Of course, this was to enable the children from worker and peasant families to complete their education. The quality of education was not measured by academic achievement but against the degree of formal instruction being combined with productive labour.

The Cultural Revolution marked a significant turning point in the development of the debate on popularization and elevation. The emphasis on the means by which education could serve the workers and peasants and at the same time promote national construction through either all-out expansion or regulated growth was being abandoned. It became an outright condemnation of quality education in praise of mass education to promote economic growth. A non-antagonistic contradiction and compromising situation suddenly turned antagonistic and had to be resolved in a struggle.

3. Problem Analysis:

The contradiction between popularization and elevation

Popularization and elevation are not two separate entities which require the elimination of one for the promotion of the other. They both are necessary elements in developing socialist education, and to a large extent, they rely on each other for keeping to the correct line and thus for survival. Mao himself had expressed the interdependent relationship between the two elements. He said in 1942 that:

elevation to us is elevation on the basis of popularization, and popularization to us is popularization under the guidance of elevation.²⁴

Popularization was supposed to be the foundation on which elevation should be developed, and the principles of elevation should give popularization the goals and direction toward which it should move. The relationship was perceived clearly as a dialectical unity and both should be considered desirable elements for development. But in the process of their development, popularization became a counter-factor to

elevation and elevation a deterrent factor to popularization, so much so that both became undesirable for educational development.

Popularization, ideologically, was based on the concept of popularism.

It defined the purpose of education as serving the masses only.

Theoretically, it was an ideal which could be made possible when the country's social and economic conditions were ready to support the massive programmes of popularizing education at all cost and in all possible ways. And in the case of the CCP's conception, popularization meant not only quantitative but also rapid growth. (Refer to Table 7).

In the past thirty years, substantial achievements in this aspect had been made. At least, universal elementary education was available in all villages, junior high schools were present in almost all provinces (xian), and in the cities, universal senior high schools were available. Out of the total population 975.2 million, 850,000 were in tertiary education, 65.48 million were in secondary school, and 146.24 million in primary education, amounting to a total of 212.57 million student population. As a matter of fact, 1/4 of the nation's total population was enrolled in school. The class composition of the students had also changed. Gradually it had increased the level of the workers and peasants and their children. In 1951, the proportion of students from workers and peasant families among the total student number was 19.1% in the universities, 56.6% in secondary specialized schools, and 51.3% in senior and junior secondary schools. By 1958, the number had increased significantly, it was 48% in universities and colleges, 77% in secondary specialized schools, and 75% in the senior and junior secondary schools.

It is easy to assume that those measures aimed at education for all would have benefited a wide range of people. However, with the low

productivity, government spending on education was minimal. There had never been a guarantee for a constant supply of the necessary material and human resources. Even when the five-year primary schools were established throughout the nation, the provision of facilities, educational materials and teaching staff were extremely inadequate. Despite the effort to speed up the training of teachers, the teacher-student ratio was still far from desirable. The effort to mobilize local production units to build schools and participate in the educational work met with considerable confusion. As a result, the quality of education suffered.

The second measure of combining education with productive labour was intended to popularize education and increase productivity at the same time. But at the end, it brought about general chaos. The normal educational process was seriously disrupted. In the process of merging schools with factories and farms, teachers were unable to teach regularly and students were at a loss as to what course of action to pursue. Most of the students were perplexed about their identity, they were both students and workers, yet they were neither one of them. Under such circumstances, more and more students withdrew from schools. Some withdrew of their own volition, others at the behest of their parents.

- Eventually, people held that, since the Party seemed determined to transfer students into workers who, without much formal education, were comparatively well treated in terms of job opportunity and social status, there was no longer a need for trying to seek education as a path to personal advancement.

Naturally, the popularization programmes yielded a general lowering of academic standard at all levels and created a widespread skepticism about the need for education and the interest in acquiring substantive

knowledge. In theory, popularization was to help to create a democratic culture, but in practice, it was ambitious and yielded negative results, especially when it was made impossible by the recalcitrant realities.

The response to this was the proposal of elevation as a remedial measure to raise the standard of education and to restore the people's faith in schooling. The need to raise the enthusiasm of the vast masses of youths to study politics, culture and science was paramount. The target was then shifted to educating as rapidly as possible a large number and a variety of specialized personnel to promote economic development. In 1957 Mao emphasized that:

In order to establish socialism, the working class must have its own ranks of technical cadres, it must have its own ranks of professors, teachers, scientists, reporters, literary people, artists and Marxist theoreticians. This should be a grand army because a few will just not do.²⁵

However, elevation of the quality of education involved not only a basic improvement in the quality and quantity of teachers, but also concentrated development on one or more aspects of education to make the maximum use of the limited resources. In this case, expansion of higher education, especially in the field of research, the adoption of a key-point system at all levels of education, and a highly selective recruiting system were some of the main outcomes of the new remedial policy. Elevation should not become an antagonistic element to popularization when the former was introduced to correct the undesirable outcome of the latter. But when certain unanticipated results of the new policies brought about severe criticisms, then it was being interpreted as deliberate attempts in the first place to discard the popularizing policies. The whole issue turned into a political

struggle of a fault-finding exercise, with the real problematic issues being obscured. The correct handling of this contradiction lies not in the choice of one or the other, but in the alliance of the two in a proper balance against the nation's real social and economic conditions.

To label a policy of popularization as a long-term mission, therefore, pushing it aside to attend to more immediate issues of raising the quality of education by differential development, did not solve the basic problem; it was but a postponement of a deepening conflict, the contradiction between town and country. Marx wrote in the German Ideology about this problem. He said:

The greatest division of material and mental labour is the separation of town and country.

The antagonism between town and country begins with the transition from barbarism to civilization, from tribe to state, from locality to nation and runs through the whole history of civilization to the present day.²⁶

Mao did identify the need for a resolution to this historically crucial contradiction, but as a third long-range goal. He advocated the correct handling of this contradiction by parallel development of both town and countryside. He rejected the Soviet model in 1957 and formulated one of diversification over specialization in enterprises, decentralization over centralization of management decisions and a reliance on moral rather than material incentives to increase productivity. The system of ownership moved from cooperativization to communization. The people's commune was formed as a basic-level government organ, linking the state and society in one unit. This enabled the integration of a diverse range of productive activity which was not possible in the smaller-scale co-operatives. In this way, the transition from socialist ownership by the collective to ownership by the whole people into the state of communism

could be anticipated. He rejected the Soviet policy in developing heavy industry first, then using the accumulation from the agricultural sector to finance the requisite investment, and regarded it as unsuitable to China. Mao insisted that China needed an economic and political development plan of its own, one that would correspond directly to the particular characteristics of the Chinese situation. He, too, realised that the relationship between town and countryside, between urban and rural workers, if not handled correctly, might become exploitative, and the contradiction could deteriorate into an antagonistic conflict.²⁷

The resolution of this conflict, as Mao saw it, was a dialectical supersession to overcome the fundamental difference that had divided the town from the countryside. He speculated that creation of new economic entities which were neither exclusively industrial nor exclusively agricultural and in the consequent possibility of replacing village and city with new residential work units. These units were to retain the positive characteristics of both the rural and urban environments. They were to depend not only on the diversification of industry with agricultural production as an adjunct, but also on the ability of the commune to engage in industrial production. All these would not be made possible unless the educational and economic opportunities were made available in the rural areas to narrow the gap in living standards between town and countryside. Mao's innovation for a policy of "xiangxiang" (going down to the countryside) was a measure to bring urban-educated youths to the villages for a short-term residence, in the hope that they would integrate with the rural people and perhaps stay in the countryside. Thus any policy or ideas which would either retain or widen the gap between the town and country would be regarded by Mao as antagonistic and therefore could not be accommodated.

Therefore, when the policy of elevation implied creating more educational opportunities only for the urban areas, neglecting the rural areas, Mao rejected it because he saw that the policy of concentrated development in the cities would in the end cause the educated youth to desert the countryside. In this way, elevation became an obstacle to national development and it worked against the principle of equality.

Therefore, in the particular context of Chinese social and economic development, the policy of "walking on two legs" should be reassessed. To develop education by organizing it in a variety of forms offered greater opportunities to a large number of people. However, it required the support of the state as well as people in factories, industries and people's communes to conduct education. Institutions, like the July 21 universities, May 7 universities, and the Communist Labour universities, when properly managed could produce the kind of technical personnel needed for the nation's industrial development. The educated youths would appreciate the course taken by the leadership if they were to be assured of jobs and opportunities.

The constant shift of official policies from one extreme to the other, and the massive campaigns to purge the people or group in opposition as a means to justify action, did not help to settle the problem, but created more confusion and disorientation among the people. A system where correct policy was always authoritatively determined generated alienation among the people. The failure of the leadership to admit to changes in policy as due to reassessment of the needs and conditions or simply as mistakes and their readiness to blame one another for deliberately sabotaging the achievements of the revolution, created suspicion and hesitation of those involved in educational work. As a matter of fact this has greatly hampered policy implementation.

China's educational development depends largely on its social and economic progress, which in turn relies upon the success of the educational system to provide it with skilled technical personnel. Although no amount of planning can drastically alter the basic constraints, compulsions and aspirations which primarily dictate the course of events, it is important for the leadership to realize that the problems of popularization and elevation are not necessarily ideological: they are real problems related to national development. Social equality should not be sacrificed for the quality of education. Even in the process of popularization, the standard of education can be maintained.

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CHAPTER FIVE : DEBATE ON UNITY OF THEORY AND PRACTICE

1. Origins of the Debate and Its Development

The Maoist philosophy of education has always been designed to make education as strictly applied and practical as possible. Given that China has a long tradition of a divorce of the literati from physical labour, and that China requires in the first instance not scientific discoveries but practical application of science, Mao's insistence on 'learning by doing' can be understood.

Based on his concept of knowledge (refer to the model in Chapter II:3), Mao further developed his treatise on the concept of science in his essay "On Practice".¹ His view on concepts being derived from percepts in the course of man's social practice and then being applied in practice was both inductive and pragmatic. He emphasized the centrality of induction from the observation of concrete things. Like other Marxist-Leninists, Mao saw the word 'science' as applicable to the 'truths of Marxism-Leninism' as to the truths of natural science. The epistemology of science is equally applicable to the 'science' of the social history of man. Simply, for Mao, science is basically a matter of learning from immediate practical experience; therefore, it should be a kind of common sense accessible to all.

However, in Mao's thought, there are some truths that are not only universal but even eternal, such as the 'laws of contradiction'. Other truths concerning the 'laws of history' are not eternal but in principle universal during their period of application. Mao claimed that 'universal truths' are derived from 'detailed investigations and studies in the course of practical struggle'.² Moreover, Mao insisted that

'application' of universal truth to concrete new situations generally involves the modification and constriction of previously held universal truths and hence a possible denial of their universality. By this pragmatic approach, Mao justified the exclusive authority of the Party, or the leadership of the Party, or even the Leader himself to interpret universal truths and to forge the link between universal truth and lessons derived from new perceptual experience.

In one of his speeches on remolding, he made it very clear that:

synthesizing the experience of the masses into
better articulated principles and methods³

was the exclusive prerogative of the 'correct' political leadership, because it knew how to relate pre-established universal truths to new experience.

The debate on unity of theory and practice is theoretical on the one hand, and political on the other.

It is true that Mao's inductivism is in opposition to the idealist and rationalist concept of truth and knowledge. When the former holds that rational knowledge need not be derived from perceptual experience, the latter insists on the reality of reason and not of practice. Mao also attacked the historical 'errors' of 'empiricism'. He claimed that perceptual knowledge, in this instance, is held to be the only reliable thing, as the data of perception reflect the realities in the objective world. As a result, their ideas are 'one-sided, and superficial', reflecting things incompletely and not reflecting their essence...its totality...and its inherent laws.⁴ Of course, Mao's idea on 'universal truth' is highly debatable, the philosophical problem of how universal, necessary truth can be derived inductively from what must always be partial and contingent empirical data remains.

It is also true that Mao uses his view of science as a weapon to attack those intellectuals who believe in the possibility of separating conceptual reasoning from immediate reference to the perceptual. Since if they believe in the possibility of arriving at truth through sustained abstract ratiocination divorced from immediate practical experience, then they could be excessively addicted to the mediated experience of book learning rather than to learning from immediate practical experience. Further still, this could imply that intellectuals cloistered in their study and divorced from political activity may independently arrive at the truth. In this case, it directly challenges the leadership's monopoly of the privilege of 'synthesizing the experiences of the masses into better articulated principles and methods'.

Other than contributing to the construction of the nation's economy, education was to serve the purpose of bridging the gap between mental and manual labour and so create selfless new men on which a socialist society of new democracy is based. Mao believed that when the new man becomes a worker-intellectual, not only will the distinction between physical labour disappear, but occupational class differentiation will also be eliminated. In order to achieve this, it became necessary to attack the intellectuals as well as to instill a genuine respect for labour among the people.

Among the other principles laid down in the Common Programme to guide the development of educational work, such as the primacy of politics in education, the principle of the 'mass line' the principle of integrating theory and practice was emphasized. Mao's argument, based on his theory of 'knowledge' (refer to previous Chapter on his model), is quite clear that he considered both book-knowledge (referring

especially to the old tradition of learning and study), which is divorced from practical activity, and experience without theory, as 'one-sided'. To him, knowledge gained from books must be applied in life and practice to be useful; on the other hand, experimental knowledge is incomplete without theory. So, complete knowledge can only be attained through 'an integration of the two - theory and practice', i.e. the dialectical process of 'practice-knowledge - again practice - again knowledge'.

The instrumental principle for achieving the integration of theory and practice was to combine productive labour with education. Lenin indicated the mutual necessity of production and education. He said:

It is impossible to visualize the ideal of future society without combining the training and education of the young generation with productive labour, nor productive labour without parallel training and education could have been raised to the height demanded by present-day techniques and the state of scientific knowledge.⁵

In order to enable manual labour and mental labour to become unified in a non-antagonistic relationship, it requires rapid intellectualization of the workers, and at the same time, the proletarianization of the intellectuals by making a worker of them.

- In practice, various programmes to combine education with production had been initiated by the CCP, such as part-work part-study school system, spare-time education, schemes of summer and holiday work, regular class-work and after-class work within the full-time school system, and transferring intellectuals and young people to work on the basic levels of production (the former was called 'xiafang' for 'reformation', the latter was 'xiaxiang' for the educated urban youth to work in the countryside).

Although these attempts were to relate study with work and work with study, implementation of these policies met with considerable difficulties, and opposition was heard not only from the intellectuals who were concerned with the standard of education, but also from the peasants, the workers and the students also had difficulties in coping with the system. Most of their problems were revealed in the development of the debate which in turn reflected also the laborious struggle of curriculum reform in Chinese education for the past three decades.

a. The Background

The Jiangxi (Kiangsi) experience of the Chinese Communists in the 1930s had laid the foundation for future Communist education. When the Chinese Communists moved to Jiangxi in 1931 and established the 'Kiangsi Soviet' as the base for their revolutionary work, Jiangxi became the foreground for the Communists to carry out experiments of engineering social change.

Mao's early experience under the 'old' school system and the 'modern' teachers' training school in Changsha made him extremely critical of the whole educational setup at that time. He was dissatisfied with the curriculum being too heavy and that too much emphasis was put into 'book-learning'. He supported the adoption of the vernacular style (baihua) to replace the difficult literary style (wenyan) in both literature and teaching. He tried to introduce changes in the curriculum of the Self-Study University which he established in 1921, but failed because of the restriction of the model of modern schools on which the university was based.

However, when Mao moved to organize the Hunan peasantry in 1925, he

came into direct contact with the local people. Then he began to understand the educational needs of the rural farmers as different from those of the urban workers and intellectuals. Apart from the need to devise materials related to the needs of the rural peasantry, there was the major problem of illiteracy with which to cope. During that time, the Communist school system, ranging from primary schools to the three universities at the top, was designed to train cadres to serve the revolution. The content of education was essentially academic studies and political instruction. In order to cope with the demand of the peasants, teachers and educational personnel were instructed to adopt whatever material available to eliminate illiteracy.

The 'Kiangsi Soviet'^{was} uprooted by Chiang Kai-shek in 1934 and ^{it} ended the 'agrarian revolution' of the Communist movement. As the Communists moved on to Yanan and devoted their force to resist Japanese invasion into China, the Party organization and the nationalist government both called for a 'change in the existing education system and curriculum and put into effect a new system and curriculum aimed at resisting Japan and serving the nation'.

As a result, a model of Communist education emerged from the Yanan experience between 1935 and 1949. The 'Yanan model' was based on the principle of the 'mass-line', a concept of 'from the masses, and to the masses'⁶ for both educational administration as well as curriculum development. Uniformity was not the objective. Mao himself learned from his direct experience that the peasants did not accept education readily unless it was related to their immediate needs. So, local people were encouraged to participate actively in the formulation of policy and organizing teaching material. It was not enough for students to learn theory only, they needed to know also the techniques

of applying the theory in practice. Teachers were then instructed to stress heavily practical application rather than theoretical presentation in schools.

Since the resources of the Communists were too limited to meet with the demands for any expansion of education, the people began to take initiative in setting up their own schools based on local needs. So, 'minban' (run by local people) primary and secondary schools began to appear. These schools were operated on the basis of evening classes, half-day and winter school with a curriculum dominated by participation in and preparation for production. The schools were financed by the people in the local villages, who also managed the schools on a day-to-day basis.

Other than literacy education, there was a new programme of labour education to put the principle of combining production with study into practice. At the primary and secondary levels, schools were organized on either a half-day or alternate day basis to allow students and staff to participate in productive work which included agricultural, industrial or social activities depending on the immediate needs of the school as well as the local community. As a matter of fact, each school had its own workshops or farms, and they sometimes sold their products to earn cash for maintaining the school. There were also spare-time schools which offered technical training for the workers. Flexibility was the key word to all innovations at this time.

The Northwestern Anti-Japanese Red Army University, opened in April 1936 for the purpose of training cadres to lead the struggle against the Japanese, has often been referred to as the model of Communist education. One of its characteristics was the implementation of the

principle of 'cultivating in the students the constructive spirit, the habit of labour, and their proletariat viewpoint'. Both the faculty and the students were assigned to participate in regular productive work. Eighty percent of their time in the university was devoted to labour work. Labour was not only part of the curriculum but also a pedagogical method to improve learning. After finishing a period of study, students went to the production units and the countryside to carry out practical work; they then returned to the university to 'sum up their experience before continuing their studies'.

The Yanan model⁷ in the later period was essentially a movement to mobilize the masses to struggle against illiteracy, superstition and unhygienic habits. Despite the effort of the Communists to expand education to the masses, the number of village schools was still relatively small, and education was still concentrated in the urban areas. Both the political and labour education had a limited effect on the general public, and opinion differed as to whether the Yanan method was the appropriate method for learning. Liu Shao-chi once commented that the Anti-Japanese University was no more than a training centre. There were already seeds of conflict for later struggle as to which was the 'correct way' of education.

b. The Common Programme and the Debate on a Balance between Theory and Practice

Since the Common Programme proposed to reform the contents and methods of the old educational system systematically and followed the experience of the old liberated areas, unity of theory and practice⁸ became the guideline to reform the curriculum, especially that of the

content of higher education. So, the debate at this time was centered on the attack against the empty notion of 'academic for academic per se'⁹ so as to strike for the integration of national construction with study. On the other hand, the Party leaders warned the educational workers of their 'narrow-minded utilitarianism or empiricism that refuses theoretical learning'. The theme of the argument was clearly on moderation and balance as against dogmatism and empiricism. The Resolutions of the Northeastern People's Government on Higher Education promulgated in March 1950 presented the official stand that:

to guard against and overcome the narrow pragmatism of slighting theoretical study which may have arisen. This deviation, which had in the old education the pragmatic educational viewpoint of James and Dewey... and in the old liberated areas empiricism as its background, is comparatively liable to grow and must not be overlooked.¹⁰

Many took this as an indication of the Party's support for their interpretation of the balance of theory and practice as to mean that 'sufficient time should be given to studies and that there should not be too many extra-curricular activities'. Kao Kang (高岗), the chairman of the Northeast People's Government, issued a statement saying students were 'to be encouraged in organized thinking, in reading reference books and in intellectual labour'.

As a matter of fact, the Party took over the control of over 300,000 educational institutions of all levels in 1949. And by 1951, all private institutions of higher education were nationalized, many were merged with the state institutions. In order to strengthen the combination of practice and teaching, the institutions of higher education were called upon to establish close contact with the government offices and enterprises. The teaching staff was asked to work

with the government in planning production, scientific research and public affairs, and then to organize their students to carry out practical work and observation as part of their learning process. The long-term goal to create an organic interrelationship and coordination of the three units of school education, industrial production and scientific research was to gradually attained. So, there was a series of coordination of the educational institutions with the other social units in the public sector. For example, ministries were called on to arrange for students to work in the various departments as part of their regular curriculum, and production units were asked to put students to work in factories and on nearby construction sites. This was part of the government's plan to integrate the training of personnel with that of the nation's industrial and economic development.

Also, spare-time education for the workers was becoming more important to raise the workers' political, educational and technical levels. Classes were organized into intermediate and advanced levels^{for the workers} to attend according to their special needs. As a result, a wide variety of spare-time educational programmes began to emerge. They ranged from technical courses, general education, literacy classes to organized cultural activities. Enrollment in spare-time programmes was phenomenal: more than thirteen million peasants participated in the 'Winter Study Movement' of 1949-50; by December 1950, more than one million urban workers were reported to have enrolled in various spare-time classes. It seemed that the Party's initial call for integration of theory and practice had been received with enthusiasm and support. The aspiration of the people for education was satisfied.

However, the adoption of the First Five-Year Plan marked the beginning

of a period of devoting education to the training of a technical-intellectual elite following the Soviet model. Despite Mao's advocacy for the 'three good things' of good health, diligent study and fine work, there was a clear shift of official emphasis to developing the study of science. Dependence on Soviet expertise brought to light the 'low quality' of most of the institutions of higher education, especially in the training of scientific and technical personnel. Speaking on the question of the intellectuals, Zhou Enlai (周恩来), maintained that institutions of higher education must improve by raising their professional standards and promote the elite members among them to the ranks of the 'higher intellectuals'. He actually argued for the elevation of theory and criticized the past efforts to advance practice and practical application over theory. He stated that:

A tendency of short-sightedness still exists among many comrades who are not willing to employ the forces necessary for scientific research and constantly ask scientists to solve comparatively simple questions for them regarding technical application and production procedure. It is certainly unquestionable that theory must not be divorced from practice and we might fight against any theoretical study which is dissociated from practice. But the main tendency at present is the neglect of theoretical study.¹¹

Zhou further stated that high productivity and scientific and technological development required the discrepancies between mental and manual labour. He claimed that:

Under the socialist system, the principle suited to the productive forces is that of 'to each according to his work'. In a socialist society, there should still be difference between the payment given by the state for simple and complex work, as well as between labour by the hand and by the brain.

His argument was based on his assumption that there was a definite contradiction between the wage discrepancies and the basic principles of 'equalitarianism'. And due to 'historical background' and the needs of the society, the discrepancies should be tolerated. He also criticized that scientific work at that time was supposed to be linked with production and in practice, but it was interpreted by many to mean simply cooperation between workers, peasants and the intellectuals rather than the combination of mental and physical labour by each individual.

In order to cope with the shortage of teachers and low standards, he suggested the training of the best graduates from universities and colleges as scientific researchers, and sending people abroad to further their studies. The movement for high quality and standards of excellence in science and technology led to the divided development of specialized and vocational institutions of higher learning and the spare-time worker education which was to train only the second-level technical personnel.

The impact of the Soviet influence on Chinese education was felt on the level of the school system too. A very heavy academic curriculum was developed in the secondary schools to ensure substantial studies. There were over thirty class-periods of fifty minutes each per week. Examinations were difficult in order to ensure a high standard. Since the content of the curriculum was determined by the Ministry of Education in the capital, the whole school system became highly centralized under the control of teachers and professional administrators. In general, a dual system of education appeared with the better students gaining admission to the regular secondary schools, the others going to middle-level vocational and technical schools. The tendency

was that the urban youth achieved better than most of the children from the peasant-worker families.

c. The Great Leap Forward of 1958-60 & the Reinforcement of Productive Labour in Education

Criticism of the 'blind acceptance' of the Soviet model of development especially in education was first heard in the 'Hundred Flowers Movement' launched by Mao in May 1956. Most of the people still complained of the limited educational opportunities, the heavy load of study and political participation by both the teachers and students; there were also lack of job opportunities for the young graduates.

In fear of stronger criticism turning into opposition, and education becoming divorced from the practical needs of the local regions, in 1957, Mao wrote:

Recently there has been a falling off in ideological and political work among students and intellectuals... To counter these tendencies we must strengthen our ideological and political work. Both students and intellectuals should work hard. But in addition to the study of their specialized subjects, they must make progress both ideologically and politically...¹²

The relationship between politics, theory and practice, mental and manual labour was seen by Mao as an essential relationship in promoting socialist education.

The then Vice-Premier, Lu Ting-yi, wrote in his article entitled 'Education must be combined with productive labour' and elaborated on the ideological, political and economic significance of combining education with production. Ideologically it contributed to the elimination of the contradiction between mental and manual labour;

politically it helped to develop the 'cultured socialist-minded worker'; economically it reduced the government's expenditure on education and at the same time it also contributed to production.

Once again practice was given priority over theory. On September 19, 1958, the CCP and the State Council issued a directive on their Great Leap policy in education. Other than eliminating illiteracy, universalizing primary education, the main emphasis was on adopting the new policy of 'walking on two legs' to coordinate education with production, using the concept of the 'mass line'.¹³

As a result, half-work, half-study schools were set up throughout the country; these schools provided academic instruction with on-the-job training and they operated right from the lowest level of primary school up to university. They were in one way or another linked with local factories or production brigades. The agricultural middle school in the rural areas had their classes conducted in either half-day or alternate day schedule. However, many people criticized the quality of these schools.

By 1958, eight hundred new institutions of higher education were reported to have been opened. The Communist Labour University which was established in mid-1958 in Jiangxi, and the Industrial University in Nanchang set up in 1960, were known to be the model for future development of half-work half-study education. They not only accepted students from worker, peasant, cadre or army background, sometimes young people with productive experience could also gain entry to the university, but they were also totally self-sufficient. Though there were people who criticized that these institutions were no more than 'labour brigades' and they actually neglected the quality of teaching as well as the standards of the students.

At the same time, spare-time colleges set up by the factories continued to grow in number. They offered mainly short courses and literacy classes for the workers. Television universities were set up in cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, Harbin, and Shenyang in 1960.

The arrangement in the full-time educational institutions was specified in the official directive of May 1959 by the State Council on "the Regulations on Allocation of Time for Study, Work, and Other Activities in Full-time Schools". So, the school year was to vary from thirty-three to thirty-nine weeks per year, and work was to take eight to thirteen weeks. The time for work could be over a continuous or staggered period depending on the local situation. Labour arrangements would have to vary from institution to institution; it could be labour in school-operated factories or communes, labour in cooperating units of production, or labour for social welfare.

Mao stressed in his 'Instruction Given on an Inspection Tour of Tientsin University', August 1958, that there was a need to revise the curriculum at all levels to provide for the integration of education to set up their own factories or work in surrounding factories to complement conventional academic subjects with skill-training. Students in the rural areas were encouraged to work with the agricultural cooperatives. Universities and colleges were to set up farms and factories where students and staff could take part in related labour.

The result of these reforms would eventually lead to a high degree of decentralization in terms of both administration and organization. The content and format of the curriculum would also be "decentralized" to suit local practical needs.

In his 'Report on Government Work' of April 18, 1959, Zhou Enlai

supported the argument that introducing labour into educational programmes and organizing students and teachers to participate in productive labour helped them to acquire knowledge of production, love of labour, and respect for working people. It also strengthened the ties between school and society, and above all, integrated theory and practice and mental and physical work, so that the schools were turned into "a new type of school training a new man with a Communist outlook".

However, there were people who put forward the counter-argument that the implementation of combining productive labour with education would actually upset or even destroy the "normal order of education". But the Party interpreted 'normal' in reference to ideology and maintained that the revolutionary educational reform was the destruction of the "normal order of the capitalists" but an establishment of the 'normal order of the proletariat'.

Zhou Enlai was aware of the shortcomings and he mentioned that there were questions which remained to be studied and solved regarding the combining of labour and education.

In order to carry through Mao's idea of integrating education with productive labour the policy of 'transferring down' (xiafang) - the Movement of "down to the countryside and up to the mountains" was adopted in 1958. The General Secretary of the Central Committee in September 1957, called for the mobilization of all leading personnel in the Party, the government, and the mass organization at various levels in practical struggle. Graduates of higher institutions would first do manual work in areas of production related to their studies before being assigned to their permanent jobs which would be determined by their specialization as well as their record of manual work. Cadres

and managerial personnel in factories, mines, and communes were also instructed to devote part of their time to manual labour so that "administrative personnel are to learn both the art of administration and industrial technique. They are to be both functionaries and workmen". Soldiers and intellectuals were involved, for the former it was to "enrich their minds and fortify their own mass point of view and their love of labour"; for the latter, it was a continuation of the remolding process to rid them of their "bourgeois academic viewpoint opposing the Mass line".

This was one of the extreme examples of how a general policy of combining productive labour with education could be pushed to its limits for the sake of politics. The principle of integrating theory and practice might serve as the foundation of the policies, but there were times when it could also be used as an excuse for political struggle.

Following the Great Leap Forward of expansion and revolutionary reforms was another period of readjustment. Greatly affected by the nationwide natural disasters and crop failure that occurred between 1959 and 1961 which led to economic setbacks, almost all colleges and middle schools of the half-work, half-study types had been abolished or combined with the others, and almost all the factories managed by these schools had been suspended after 1961.

Chin Yi, in August 1961, made known to the public his criticism of the educational policy of the Party. He strongly argued against the heavy emphasis on political study in non-political courses and on labour which lowered the standards of academic studies. He said:

If we do not attach importance to the study of specialities, our country will always remain scientifically and culturally backward.¹⁴

Lu Ting-yi, in July, 1962, put forward his criticism too of the steady decline of the level of educational standards.¹⁵ He pointed out that the lowering of the standards was due to the pace of growth being too fast and too much power had been granted to the non-professionals. Also, there was too much labour, and academic classes were too often disrupted and replaced by political courses.

As a result, a two-track educational system of schools developed. The system of state schools was devoted to full-time studies and the system of half-work half-study schools was to serve those who were not qualified to enter the full-time schools. This was the "two-track educational system and two kinds of labour" advocated by Liu Shao-chi. Furthermore, a system of formal examinations was restored to protect academic standards. For this group of people, which the Leftists or Maoists called Rightists, their emphasis was clearly on study (theory) rather than work (practice).

d. The Revival of the debate during the Cultural Revolution

Mao unequivocally criticized the status of educational development in the schools in 1964. He said:

There are too many courses of study at present. They are harmful to people and cause the students of middle and primary schools and universities to lead a stained life.....Half of the courses of study may be dropped away.....One cannot read too many books.....Should one read too many of them, one would proceed to the negative side and become a bookworm or a revisionist.

In 1965, he spoke at the Hangchow Conference in December of his view on practice.

We must contact reality gradually, and work in the countryside for a few years in order to learn something about agriculture, botany, soil, fertilizer, science, bacteriology, forestry, water conservation, etc. It is not necessary to learn too much of these subjects; a little knowledge of them will do us good.

His advice to the college students was "go to the lower levels to work in industry, agriculture, and commerce" and putting what they had learned to practice.

While Mao continued to criticize the 'revisionist line' and called for a reform of the school system, curriculum, and methods of teaching and examination, debates over each of these issues continued through 1965. Though the Cultural Revolution was officially launched in September 1965, it reached the national level only in the spring of 1966 after Mao had issued the May 7 Directive¹⁶ calling for whole-scale cultural revolution. The Eleventh Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee adopted a sixteen-point decision in August 1966, outlining the objectives of the Cultural Revolution; namely, to overthrow capitalist authority, to repudiate the bourgeois academic authorities and their ideology, and to transform all parts of the superstructure, including education.

Long before the Cultural Revolution, in the Socialist Education Movement of 1964, Liu Shao-chi had been attacked for trying to set up a system of full-time schools for 'talent education' and another system of half-work half-study schools for "labourer education". So that the vast majority of the people would be trained for labour, and a minority of the elite youth would be trained for ruling. This was argued by the Maoists as having increased rather than decreased the differences between mental and manual labour, town and country, workers and peasants; as a result, it intensified the distinction between classes.

In addition, Liu and his revisionist supporters were accused of having divorced education from labour, from the working people and from the class struggle in society. Since by putting vocation first, they encouraged students to seek personal fame, gain and position, a return to the capitalist values of individualism.

So, a new system of education was suggested to reinstate the need for training students to become workers with socialist consciousness and culture. To achieve this, the following changes were implemented:

- abolition of all examination systems;
- further shortening of the cycle of schooling;
- expeditious implementation of the half-work half-study system;
- increase in students' participation in productive labour;
- young graduates must go out among the workers; peasants and soldiers to temper themselves before continuing their studies in the institutions of higher education;
- and politics was to be in command in the curriculum which was to be locally controlled.

In December 1968, Mao announced that:

- the educated youth must go to the village and accept re-education from the poor and lower-middle peasants. The cadres and others from the cities must be persuaded to send their children to the villages when they have finished study in the lower and higher middle schools and in the universities.

Associated with this new fervour of 'xiafang' to join the people in the countryside was an element of anti-intellectualism which was embedded in the notion of combining labour with study. Intellectuals who advocated for scientific research, better equipment, scholarship, and academic achievement were accused of their bourgeois attitudes and were dismissed. While workers and peasants were regarded not only ideologically but intellectually superior to the intellectuals because of their revolutionary nature.

Thus intellectuals were expected to learn from the masses. Peasants and workers became their teachers, and some even assumed the teaching role in educational institutions. Veteran workers and soldiers were called on to lecture on the hardship of their own revolutionary experience, and the valuable specialized knowledge of the peasants was held to help to "raise the theoretical level of scientists and technicians and solve practical problems".

The administration, structure and the content of education as well as pedagogy were all organized according to the policy of combining labour with study, production with education. The emphasis was clearly that of "studying theory from the basis of practice". Teachers and students alike at all levels of education were sent away periodically for practical productive experience regardless of their specialization. The participation in productive work was not totally acceptable to the intellectuals, especially the young ones. It was reported that it had a demoralising effect on many. The Red Flag accounted for the apathy in schools arising from the attitude that study was worthless. Some felt that even if they graduated from university, they would have to go to the countryside and work, so they would take the risk of returning to the cities before their work was done. Parents argued that it was better for their children to participate in labour rather than attend school. The value of education and the incentive to education were greatly undermined in the process of combining labour with study.

While the principle of uniting theory with practice continued to dominate educational debates, the application of Mao's May 7 Directive that "education must serve proletarian politics and be integrated with productive labour" had been modified. By 1970, primary schools, middle

schools, colleges and universities followed Mao's instruction to "regard the whole society as their workshop". They set up and ran their own workshops, farms and factories, thereby putting into practice the 'three-in-one' system of unifying teaching, scientific research, and production. This three-in-one principle was applied at all levels. By 1972, the relationship between theory and practice was given a revised interest. It was separation of theory and practice on the one hand and regarding 'theory is useless' on the other. There had been a new concern for educational quality and for the building up of the force of 'theoretical workers' needed for national development. So, it was wrong to consider 'theory is useless'. This line of opinion was expressed in the discussion on the learning of science at the level of higher education by Zhou Peiyuan (周培源). In his "Some Views on Educational Revolution in the Science Faculty of Universities", October 1972, he said:

Only when one has mastered the laws of nature, that is, deeply understood the relations of objective things, can one put forward one's views of analyzing and solving practical problems.....the task of the science faculty is to train working personnel versed in the theories of natural science who are required by current production as well as theoretical workers required by the country in its future development of production and science.

Whereas basic theory was criticized in the past as being divorced from reality, by 1973, it was held that theory should not be belittled nor should one negate the importance of gradual advancement in study. To stress practical training at the expense of book knowledge was denounced as 'pragmatism' and 'formalism' and part of the 'revisionist line'. Mao's statement of "take study as the main task" was quoted often to support the new concern for educational quality and respect for theoretical studies.

Above all, dominating the debate on theory and practice was the question of the university. While the revolution of education was considered as a very important part of the Cultural Revolution, reforms of the higher education, especially that of the university, was regarded as one of the top priorities.

The Communist Party had always maintained that between the intellectuals and the Party, there existed a certain contradiction, and the university was the place where the intellectuals would associate and function.

Mao commented in 1969 that:

The intellectuals, this includes those young intellectuals who are still studying in schools, whether they are in the Party or outside the Party, their world view is fundamentally capitalist. Because the past ten years or so after Liberation, both culture and education has been controlled by the revisionists and capitalism is in their blood.

There had been discussions in 1967 on the question of abolishing the university altogether. The opinion representing the Peking Teachers' University suggested the three abolitions : abolition of the university and the middle school, but retaining the primary school; abolition of the system of promotion and graduation; abolition of the system of attached-schools. They advocated for running the schools as subsidiary organizations of the people's communes, factories or even the PLA.

Their proposition was supported by the Propaganda Teams which later moved into the universities and claimed control of the institutions.

But Mao was determined in this aspect. Speaking on "The Way to Train Engineering and Technical Personnel as viewed from the Shanghai Machine-Tool Plant" in July 1968, he announced that:

It is still necessary to have universities: here I refer mainly to colleges of science and engineering. However, it is essential to shorten the period of schooling, revolutionize education, put proletarian politics in command, and follow the road of the Shanghai Machine-Tool Plant in training technicians from among the workers. Students should be selected from among the workers and peasants with practical experience and they should return to production work after a few years' of study.¹⁷

For Mao, the example of the Shanghai Machine-Tool Plant had a great deal to offer in terms of its implication on the way to train socialist engineering and technical personnel. According to the Report in People's Daily, July 22, 1968, the success of the Plant pointed to two very important aspects which could be related to the future development of education.

Firstly, the Plant was controlled by the proletarian revolutionaries and not the reactionary bourgeois "technical authorities". Based on the 'three-in-one' combination system with workers, revolutionary technicians and revolutionary cadres working together as a team, the relations between workers and technicians had greatly been improved. Under this system, ordinary workers could participate in the designing job, and the technicians could work on the production lines. This was the result of having theory closely integrated with practice.

Secondly, to train engineering and technical personnel by promoting technicians from among the workers was the only way to develop a proletarian engineering and technical work force, as experience had indicated that the performance of the worker-technicians was superior to that of the college and university graduates. Generally, the latter group was "more backward in its outlook and less competent in actual work" because they had inadequate practical experience and their book-knowledge was irrelevant to actual productive work. On the contrary, the worker-technicians proved to be "more progressive in their ideas

and more able". Because they had accumulated a great deal of experience in their long period of practical work, especially after a few years of study in spare-time specialized technical institutes, they had closely integrated theory and practical work. They had, therefore, achieved a "leap forward" in knowledge, and this would enable them to conduct scientific research successfully.

The Report continued to elaborate on the useful principles deduced from the Plant-experience that would guide the direction for the educational revolution.

Firstly schools must educate "workers with socialist consciousness and culture" and not "intellectual aristocrats" who were alienated from proletarian politics, the masses and production work. To achieve this, young students must integrate themselves with workers and peasants through participating in productive labour. This would change their world outlook and teach them practical technical knowledge.

So, new graduates from colleges and universities should, first of all, be assigned as ordinary workers in factories and in the countryside to take part in productive labour to earn their "qualification certificates" from other workers and peasants before being assigned to be technicians.

Secondly, school education must be combined with productive labour. The old educational system was regarded to be characterized by its separation of theory from practice and overemphasis on abstract traditional doctrines and methods. So, schools should appoint experienced workers as teachers and some subjects should be taught by workers in the workshops rather than inside the classroom.

Thirdly, production units should select graduates of junior and senior middle schools who have sound political ideology and two to three or four to five years of experience in productive labour and send them to study in junior colleges or universities.

This, according to the editorial, was the way in which theory and practice could be integrated in education.

Later in 1970, in an article entitled "Strive to build a socialist university of science and engineering",¹⁸ the blueprint of the new university was drawn. The existence of the university was justified as long as it served the purpose of the revolution and socialist construction in the ways suggested as follows:

Working-class leadership must be maintained. Based on the revolutionary "three-in-one" combination, the workers' propaganda teams would lead the school in the revolutionary process of struggle-criticism-transformation. So, a proletarian teacher corps must be established by forming a three-in-one combination of workers, peasants, and soldiers, revolutionary technicians, and members of the original teaching staff.

And a new proletarian educational system must be established. This meant the establishment of a new 'three-in-one' system of combining teaching, scientific research, and production by running open-door universities, linking factories and schools, having schools run factories, and having factories guide specialization.

In training worker, peasant, and soldier students, it was still imperative to maintain class struggle as the principal part of the curriculum and to maintain the unity of theory and practice. While opposing both dogmatism and empiricism, the unity of theory and practice was the guiding principle for cultivating the students' capacity for analyzing and solving problems. They should regard that "perception only solves questions of phenomena, theory alone solves questions of essence" ("On Practice") and "Marxism emphasizes the study of theory precisely and only because it can guide action".

New Proletarian teaching materials must be compiled. Teaching materials must be thoroughly transformed and based on the policies of "making the past serve the present and things foreign serve China" and "weeding

out the old to let the new emerge". The principle of "critical acceptance" was recommended in treating old materials and foreign scientific and technical achievements.

New teaching methods should be practiced by combining production and scientific research and adhering to the in mass-line. The question of teaching methodology was a matter of principle concerning which class theory of knowledge and methodology would be employed in organizing the teaching process.

If bourgeois teaching methods were centred on books and teachers and therefore, divorced theory from practice then the proletarian way of teaching was to center on practice through an integration of systematic teaching with the process of learning while doing, by dividing the teaching process into stages to accord with typical tasks of different types to be accomplished. Theoretical courses would be planned and arranged in several stages and studied systematically following the principle of moving from the easy to the difficult, the application of the methods of "interplaced study" and "concentrated study".

However, this was relating to the building of the socialist university of science and engineering. The other universities, such as the liberal arts university, had to be reformed along the line of unity of theory and practice too.

In 1964, Mao told the educational representatives from Nepal that "generally speaking, the intellectuals involved in industry are better, they are closer to practice. Those who are involved in pure science are not as good, but they are still better than those in the arts field. Arts is the furthest from practice, whether in history, or in economics, they are all divorced from reality, they are ignorant of the world affairs".

In order to remedy this and to justify the continuation of running liberal arts universities, Mao suggested that "the liberal arts should take all of society as their workshop". This he meant linking the liberal arts closely with the class struggle of society and with criticism of the bourgeoisie. Revolutionary mass criticism was then regarded as the fundamental task of socialist liberal arts universities as well as the basis of reforming the old universities. The official instruction was to criticize the bourgeoisie in society on the one hand, and carry revolutionary mass criticism into the liberal arts studies themselves to criticize the "reactionary bourgeois ideological systems" in philosophy, history, literature, political economy, journalism, education and other fields.

It had been repeated that the "old concept of a university must be resolutely smashed". According to the article entitled "Liberal Arts Universities Must Carry Out Revolutionary Mass Criticism"¹⁹ submitted by the Shanghai Revolutionary Mass Criticism Writing Group, the old concept of university regarded the university as "a place of elegant seclusion where books are read behind closed doors", having a class schedule that was too full when teachers just crammed lessons into students, and students conditioned to rote copying. Above all, the old university allowed bourgeoisie thought to "flow freely through the schools". The kind of academic life these old institutions adhered to was that of "regularization". Consequently they produced or housed academics who were totally incapable of productive labour, of "distinguishing fragrant flowers from poisonous weeds", and above all of doing investigative research. Over-specialization was another very important drawback of the old system. The old-style liberal arts universities were criticized for dividing into too many depart-

ments, such as philosophy, history, literature, economics, journalism, education etc., and even within one department, there could still be further divisions into specialized subjects. This was regarded as definitely not the orientation of the proletarian education.

The argument was that "class struggle and the onslaught of bourgeois ideology have never been divided into special fields". However, they admittedly acknowledged the need for appropriate divisions into special fields, only that they opposed divisions that were too refined, and they also opposed setting up special fields "as above everything else". As they saw it, specialization or dividing knowledge up into special fields in such a refined but dead manner was "a metaphysical trick played by the bourgeoisie in their attempt to restrict the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie by making the young people's thinking one-sided".

Therefore, liberal arts universities should take up a new form, a new meaning and a new function. This included the transformation of the old institutions too. In order to contribute to the educational revolution, the liberal arts universities should make the study of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought the central concern and "theory must be related to practice". The reason to study Marxism they explained was to "go out and solve the practical problems" and to "carry out the class struggle, and the struggle for production, and to criticize the bourgeoisie". Study and application they claimed were one; lecturing and reading books were only one side of the teaching and learning process, the more important side was studying in the course of social practice.

So, both the organization of the classes and the compilation of teaching materials must all be "coordinated with revolutionary mass criticism".

Liberal Arts universities were the place for training "revolutionary troops" for spreading Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought. In other words, they should train proletarian fighters but on the ideological and cultural fronts, and they should not be training "bourgeois academicians". In practice, the method of revolutionary mass criticism should not only be "acute class struggle", it should also be "very good study and self-transformation". According to the guidelines they suggested, it should include "the analysis, criticism and lessons that can be drawn from adapting ancient things to present-day uses, using foreign things for Chinese purposes, and eliminating the old to bring forth the new".

In areas of specialization, every special field has the responsibility of using Mao's ideology to criticize the bourgeois world outlook and to reform the old curriculum. In whatever activity, revolution and the criticism of the bourgeoisie should come first; specialization was considered only secondary. And coordination among the various fields of study (under the leadership of the Party) was the basis for this transformation.

Commenting on the 'Fudan University's "May 7" Experimental Liberal Arts Class'²⁰ as part of the reform movement of the liberal arts universities, the editor summarized the changes needed for the new model institution.

Liberal arts should take the whole society as its factory; the studies involved should focus on revolutionary mass criticism which should organically combine classroom teaching and the Three Great Revolutionary Movements.

The teaching material should be organized in such a way that it was under the command of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought.

The old concept of 'dignity of the teachers' should be replaced by building a new teacher-student relationship based on the new approach of "officers educate men, men educate officers, and men educate one another".

However elaborate the new model might be, it owed its origin to that of Mao's 1958 specification of the tasks of education in the whole process of socialist construction as directly under:

Party leadership, based on the mass-line principle and integration of education with productive labour.

Major Reforms of the University took place especially in the structure and organization of the institutions of higher education. For comprehensive universities, according to the report given by the Mao Tse-tung Thought Propaganda Team of Fudan university in 1969, the purpose of the reforms was to promote a system of half-work half-study at the level of higher education. They included the following suggestions of:

Abolition of the system of dual-leadership and establishing the provincial revolutionary committees to administer the universities.

Abolition of the system of entrance examination to higher education and the unified system of admission. Enrollment of students should be based on the recommendations of the revolutionary committees of various levels who would in turn select candidates from among the workers, peasants and soldiers who had practical experience; after two or three years of study, they should go back to practice.

This also meant eliminating certain special fields, amalgamating departments or setting up some new fields of study. For example, the faculty of biology should be amalgamated into the school of agriculture, forestry and even medicine; since the faculty of journalism failed to produce "revolutionary journalist workers", it could be closed altogether.

The teaching staff should follow a system of three-shifts: one third of which would engage themselves with teaching, another third would actively involve themselves in the practice of the three great revolutionary movements and investigation; the remaining group would "go down" to factories, farms or military units to participate in real productive practices. Each group should take turns in doing the three different kinds of work according to a fixed period of time.

The curriculum should be organized according to Mao's May 7 Directive, and use Mao's work as the basic teaching material,

and class struggle as the major study. Through the setting up of factories and farms by the universities or the coordination with the outside production units, students were assigned fixed work practice for a period of time in the year.

For the universities of science and engineering, during the early period of the Cultural Revolution, the Tsinghua University working committee put forth the suggestion of fully implementing the system of half-work half-study: arranging the courses of study into two, three or four years depending on the field of study chosen, students must be assigned to participate in class struggle in society and military training for a fixed period of time during the course of study; the system of research studies should be completely abolished.

However, in 1967, Tungchi University in Shanghai produced a preliminary report on the specific reforms of the universities saying that :

Changing the university into a May 7 Commune would produce a unified body of the school, the productive unit and the planning unit.

Under the May 7 Commune administration, the system of departments and research would be abolished, instead, there would be the vocational committees which were formed by the school, the productive unit and the planning unit who would then organize classes of special fields.

The course of study was shortened to three years; in the first year, half of the course should be devoted to participation in constructive work; in the second year, two-thirds of the time should be used to the study of planning and basic knowledge; then in the third year, students should concentrate on their area of their specialization and still participate in productive labour.

For the liberal arts universities, it was necessary to shorten the length of study. According to the report of the People's University, depending on the requirements of the field of study, the courses should be ranging from one or two years to three; each of which should have

a period of time being assigned to productive labour, military training and class struggle activities. There should be the amalgamation of the different departments, changing the present universities into the "cultural revolution universities". The subject of "criticism" should be included in the curriculum and all institutions should follow the example of the "Anti-Japanese University of the 1930s".

However, there were substantial problems arising from the reforms. First of all, it was the problem of devising new teaching material. In the process of 'destruction and construction', the old teaching material was being abandoned, but it was very difficult to get new materials. As a result, there were cases of self-study relying heavily on self-selection of teaching material; others compiled their own teaching material based on personal experience and observation. Some just gave lessons on a day-to-day basis without a coherent theme. This led to great confusion and anxiety among both the teachers and students, and much time was wasted in making out what should or should not be taught or learned. Variation was so great that the curriculum of one university could be very different from another.

Then, there was the problem of pedagogy. The old capitalist methods of teaching were criticized for its being subject-centered and teacher-centered. So the new method should stress the integration of production and study, based on the mass-line. As a result, peasants, workers, and soldiers were invited into the classroom to teach; many of whom could only speak on their individual experiences, especially their revolutionary experiences. Many students found themselves lacking the essential ability to digest the things they had learned from these historical accounts.

The problem of assessment and evaluation appeared. The abolition of examinations meant the disappearance of a challenge which had long been an incentive for the students to study and teachers to work. This greatly affected the impact of teaching and was followed by a decline in the standard of teaching. When there was nothing better to substitute for examinations, the authority was forced to restore examinations by introducing the open-book practice and the offering of options for examination questions.

The old intellectuals found the situation almost unmanageable. They had been severely criticized and most of them adopted a very passive attitude. They complained about the low standard of the new students, which greatly hindered the process of learning. The young intellectuals developed a sense of their political superiority, because it was their 'redness' which had given them the job. On the other hand, they felt extremely inferior in terms of their 'academic level', so they too found teaching very demanding and difficult, and worst still, because they remained very suspicious of the old intellectuals in the universities, cooperation became almost impossible.

The uncertainty of the prospect for the graduates created problems too. Many regretted having entered the universities and yet not learned anything. Some were actually unable to catch up with the studies; they did not have the academic standard which they needed to pursue their studies in the universities. The value of education was questioned. Many simply refused to go to school and gave up their studies altogether. Besides, in practice, it did not work out the way it should have in terms of going back to practice after study. Many factories were reluctant to take back the candidates they first recommended for study, because they did not acquire the kind of skill

and technical knowledge as expected to contribute to production. The kind of skill which the production line required was often not taught in the universities. So, many young graduates finishing their studies had no job to do, and were assigned back to work as ordinary workers and assistants in factories and local communes.

These problems could not be easily solved, because they involved a basic contradiction in the interpretation of theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge on the one hand, and the conflict between education and production on the other.

3. Problem Analysis

Ideologically, the principle of integrating theory and practice and the policy of combining productive labour with education are related closely to the Communist ideology. But the emphasis of the principle and the interpretation of the policy has moved in various directions throughout the past decades according to the political situation as well as the general attitudes of the people. However, the basic aim has remained more or less consistent: that is to promote socialist construction and the creation of the 'New Socialist Man'.

There might be a practical economic reason for Mao to advocate the integration of theory and practice. In view of the backward economic situation in China during the early years of the Communist government, expansion of education depended to a large extent on the ability of the educational institutions to finance themselves. Spare-time and part-time schools, particularly primary and vocationally-oriented schools, relied on student labour and the assistance of enterprises. During the Great Leap Forward, self-sufficiency was not only the key

to the expansion of educational opportunities, but also a matter of promoting the national production. So, economic considerations have always been part of the background to the implementation of this principle.

On the other hand, the principle has also been used to support the Party policy to cultivate in students a correct viewpoint of labour. Xiaxiang (the movement of going down to the countryside) for example, was a measure to rehabilitate and re-educate the 'bourgeois element' in the Chinese society. In the long-run, the principle should also help to close the gap between manual and mental labour. At its best, Xiaxiang could contribute to ease the problem of unemployment and overpopulation in the urban areas, and provide enormous amount of labour for work. And ideally, it could also guide the development of pedagogical methods by making classroom knowledge more readily applicable and fully related to the needs of the environment.

The means adopted by the CCP to realize the integration of theory and practice is to include labour in education. By stressing that all education must involve productive labour, it promotes a proletarian viewpoint. By providing educational opportunities through spare-time and part-time programmes, it contributes to the education of more people in China. But the whole pursuit could be introduced without extreme anti-intellectualism, a total negation of 'book-learning'. The promotion of a thoroughly integrated society need not mean that each individual has to be a worker, peasant, soldier and scholar. There are ways in which 'labour' could be so divided that 'to each according to his need' could be achieved. Confucianism does not call for separation between theory and practice, but rather advocates the correlation between theory and practice based on the fundamental belief in the

fact that 'by nature, all men are alike'. It is basically a humanistic approach for the improvement of society as well as the individual. Even in Mohism,²² there is the emphasis on utilitarianism and the principle of universal love which embodies the very spirit of collectivism. Mo Tze's trust in the judgement of the common people underlines the principle of relying on the masses. They all formed part of the total traditional Chinese thinking which may not necessarily be entirely 'contradictory' to that of the Chinese Communist ideology. The emphasis on class struggle has greatly distorted the ideas of traditional Chinese thinking by exaggerating the differences and deliberately avoiding the similarities. The Chinese Communist ideology has a lot to offer in terms of China's future development, but denying its origin and its roots in Chinese thinking would deprive the students of their right to a 'cultural heritage' which they need in order to integrate into the 'new society'.

In practice, the combination of education and production created problems. Since education is to serve proletarian politics, it is expected that Chinese education has to concentrate on political education. And the training of 'revolutionary successors'. And the method which the Party has adopted for their educational process is largely based on Mao's theory of knowledge, Mao's belief in the unity of theory and practice. As education has and must be combined with productive labour, schools were turned into production units, and the students labourers. Thus the half-work half-study system had long been the model for the development of Chinese education.

But, education and production are two separate sectors in the society. Between them, there are definite contradictions and it is very difficult for them to be combined. In theory they might be united,

but in practice, they could mean two different directions of development, and the conflict is very substantial. Firstly, there is a basic difference in the role or function of education and production. The former demands a continuous process of learning and development, and production should provide for education, at least in terms of facility; the latter emphasizes productivity, and education should provide production with the labour force it requires.

Secondly, the problem of arranging an acceptable timetable for study and work poses tremendous argument. In education, the ideal of labour is to get the students involved in as many productive activities as possible in order to widen their scope of experience; but production is work, it means efficiency and competence.

Thirdly, in view of China's urgent need to develop its economy by increasing productivity, production cannot simply afford to be disrupted for the purpose of learning. Until the Cultural Revolution, and even after the Cultural Revolution, the curriculum was still basically subject-oriented, and both agricultural production and industrial production had their own seasons and production assignments to fulfil. So, what is learned or taught in schools does not necessarily follow the 'line of production', and what is involved in production may not be relevant for the students.

Fourthly, there is the conflict of administration. In schools, teachers organize students to study and work, but in factories and local communes, the managerial cadres and local committees are in charge. Education could not administer production, nor can production administer education. As a result, these problems have actually obstructed the development of the half-work half-study system, both in terms of quantity and quality.

Before a system of polytechnic education is fully established, study and work will have to be separated, but theory and practice can and should be integrated into the content of education by introducing a practical and relevant curriculum at all levels of education.

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CHAPTER SIX : DEBATE ON RED AND EXPERT

1. Origins of the Debate

Each society has its own culture which distinguishes it from another society. Each cultural pattern has its basis in its particular cultural heritage and tradition. New inventions and interaction with other cultures should help the culture of a particular society to continue to develop and to be enriched. But its special quality or pattern need not change; that is how a particular society acquires its cultural identity. Therefore, the traditional culture of a particular society cannot be totally abandoned. Both Western and Chinese cultures have their different cultural patterns; there can be some kind of cultural exchange but not complete amalgamation, with one losing its identity to conform to the other. Thus, China could not have a total Westernization or Russianization, nor a total eradication of the traditional culture. Despite the Communists' efforts to "destroy the old" and "to build the new", the basic Chinese cultural pattern persists.

In his essay *On New Democracy*⁴ (1940), Mao defined culture in the following terms: "any given culture (as an ideological form) is a reflection of the politics and economics of a given society, and the former in turn has a tremendous influence and effect upon the latter."⁵ And old politics and economics formed the basis of China's old culture. But "since the invasion of foreign capitalism and the gradual growth of capitalist elements in Chinese society, the country has changed by degrees into a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal society...and the predominant culture, reflecting the politics and economy, is also colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal." And "it is precisely against these predominant political, economic and

cultural forms that our revolution is directed. What we want to get rid of is the old colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal politics and economy and the old culture in their service." In order to build the new culture, Chinese revolution must go through two stages, first, the democratic revolution and second, the socialist revolution, and by their very nature, they were considered as two different revolutionary processes. So, if China's new politics and economy were that of the new Democracy, the new culture should be that of the culture of the new Democracy.

Mao believed that "there is in China an imperialist culture, which is a reflection of imperialist rule, or partial rule, in the political and economic fields." And into this category falls "all culture embodying a slave ideology". China has a semi-feudal culture which reflects her semi-feudal politics and economy, and whose exponents include "all those who advocate the worship of Confucius, the study of the Confucian canon, the old ethical code and the old ideas in opposition to the new culture and new ideas." His suggestion was that "this kind of reactionary culture serves the imperialists and the feudal class and must be swept away." So "there is no construction without destruction" - "the two are locked in a life-and-death struggle." Yet later on, when he talked about "a national, scientific and mass culture", he stressed the point that "a splendid old culture was created during the long period of Chinese feudal society." But the basic attitude which he endorsed is that of being "extremely critical" - "to study the development of this old culture, to reject its feudal dross and assimilate its democratic essence "which he thought was necessary for developing the new national culture and increasing national self-confidence. However, it is imperative "to separate the fine old culture of the people which had a more or less democratic and revolutionary character from all the decadence of the old feudal ruling class."

Mao did not deny the essential link of the new culture with the past, since he clarified the situation by stating quite clearly that China's new politics and economy have developed out of her old politics and her old economy, and so has her new culture. Therefore, to sum it up, Mao said that "we must respect our own history and must not lop it off." Though he further qualified the statement by explaining that "respect for history" meant "giving it its proper place as a science, respecting its dialectical development, and not eulogizing the past at the expense of the present." It appears that to a certain extent, Mao recognized the value of the old culture - at least those elements which represent the "fine old culture of the people". What he rejected was that part of the old culture which represented that of the "decadence of the old feudal ruling class." The problem here is where to draw the line. In the course of the Communist government development, the search for a demarcation between the old and the new, and which of the old should be retained and which should be destroyed, has landed the Party as well as the people in confusion and struggles. This is especially true in education, where it was manifested in a continuous debate on the issue of either red or expert, or both; the problem of what is 'red' and what is 'expert' and how far is more difficult to define in the context of the establishment of "a new national, scientific, and mass culture".

Even within the CCP, there were different interpretations about the 'old culture' at different times. Under direct instruction from Mao himself, the Communist Party adopted a dialectical attitude toward this issue. The Party decided not to totally reject the traditional culture, as well as not to blindly adopt it, but rather to accept it critically and selectively so that it would help to push forward the new culture. In Renmin Ribao of August 5, 1971, there was a special

article on this particular dialectical relationship, entitled "Let the Proletariat Revolutionary Culture Extend to the Whole World". It quoted Lenin's speech on "The Role of the Young Communist League and on the Proletariat Culture", refuting the accusation of the capitalists against the communists of getting rid of any cultural heritage, and stating that the basic attitude of the Communists towards cultural heritage is "to inherit critically and to transform revolutionarily". Its fundamental aim is to "develop the true proletariat culture, for the struggle of the proletariat against all exploitation in the human society". Based on the historical and practical experience in the two-road struggle on the question of cultural heritage, Mao endorsed the directives of "let the past serve the present" and "let a hundred flowers bloom, to find something in the old". According to the article, this is Mao's clarification of the "dialectical relationship" between "critically inherit and revolutionarily create or transform" the past culture and building the new culture. However, in the same article, it is also mentioned that from the feudal culture, capitalist culture to the new proletariat culture, it represents a system of very different developmental stages: "they are linked together in such a way that one negates the other in the process." It stressed that the Communist revolution is not only "a complete break away from the institutional relationships set forth by the traditional society", it also completely "breaks itself away from the traditional ideas"; thus the proletariat culture should not only be new, but different. The article ended with a call for "down with old ideas, destroy the capitalist spirit, and throw away the exploitative class." Already it shows such confusion in the conception of the problem, the old culture at the end is being treated as the capitalist culture, which are the same objects for 'struggle'. The previous call for inheriting, though critically, and learning from

the traditional culture has been negated in the last part of the article. As a matter of fact, so far, the Communist Party has been "criticizing" and not "inheriting" in any way the old culture; they endeavour to negate its value rather than to acknowledge it.

It is within this specified context of building the new culture that Mao mentioned that the "people" who were engaged in revolutionary cultural work should be "the commanders at various levels on this cultural front". To him, a revolutionary cultural worker should be progressive, have the broad support of the masses, and be close to the people.

These people would in due course replace the old intellectuals who were actually being identified as problematic objects. In his "Policy of the Communist Party" (On Coalition Government, 1945), Mao spoke of the ten specific problems with which the Party has to deal, among which there was the problem of the intellectuals being referred to with the problems of culture and education, even though he recognized that in order to sweep away foreign and feudal oppression and to build a new-democratic culture, "large numbers of educators and teachers for the people, and also people's scientists, engineers, technicians, doctors, journalists, writers, men of letters, artists and rank-and-file cultural workers" were needed. They were expected to be "imbued with the spirit of serving the people, and must work hard". "Provided they serve the people creditably, all intellectuals should be esteemed and regarded as valuable national and social assets." However, the problem of intellectuals remains, especially in distinguishing the "numerous revolutionary intellectuals" from the others. The task of the people's government is identified as "systematically developing all kinds of intellectually equipped cadres from among the ranks of the people and at the same time take care to unite and re-educate all the useful

intellectuals already available." In short, as far as Mao saw it, the problem of the intellectuals could be resolved through 're-education', to enable them to acquire a new outlook and new methods to serve the people. But the question of the criteria for their creditability remains to be defined as much as what elements in the old culture should be retained. Otherwise, it would become the total negation of the old culture as well as the elimination of the old intellectuals. And it is within this confusion that the debate on red and expert appeared.

The problem of the intellectuals, as the Communists see it, has always been how to absorb and reform the intellectuals whom they needed yet distrusted. They were not unaware of the significant role of the intellectuals in the history of China and especially their strategic leadership in the various reform movements, such as the reform movement which occurred at the end of the 19th century, the 1911 Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen, the Kuomintang under Chiang Kai-shek: these were organized and supported by China's 'awakened intelligentsia'. If they were to gain the total support of the articulate public opinion in and outside China, the Communists had to win over the intellectuals. Mao himself declared in 1939 very clearly that "the intellectual elements are indispensable" and "to win over all progressive elements is one of our most important tasks." As a matter of fact, the Communist movement in China did not originate in the factories among the workers, but was organized by the intellectuals in the universities and among the "study societies". In 1939, the Chinese Communist Party officially passed the Resolution on the absorption of the intellectuals. First of all, the significance of the intellectuals was well defined:

....in its glorious struggle to build a new China, the Communist Party must know well how to attract the intellectual elements before it will be able to organize the tens of millions of the peasant masses, and to promote the revolutionary cultural movements as well as develop the united front. Without the participation of the intellectuals, victory in the revolution will be impossible.⁷

In order to pacify those party members who feared and rejected the intellectuals and failed to enlist young students en masse, the Resolution went on to spell out the 'correct policy' toward the intellectuals. There were various suggestions of measures to "absorb the intellectual elements":

- First, to strive to induce large numbers of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals to join the army, to enter schools and work in the new government
- Second, intellectuals and semi-intellectuals who are useful in various degrees and who are more loyal should be given appropriate work, trained adequately, and led gradually to correct their weaknesses in the course of our sustained struggle, in order to enable them to revolutionize themselves
- Third, cadres who are opposed to the participation of intellectuals in their work should be persuaded to realize the necessity of absorbing the intellectuals

Despite the affirmation of the importance of the intellectuals, the Communists were basically suspicious of them. According to the Resolution, the policy stated did not mean merely to enlist their service but to remould them into revolutionaries after the Communist pattern. So the intellectuals would be led to "correct their weaknesses" and be helped "to revolutionize themselves, to adopt a truly mass point of view, and to get along harmoniously with the veteran Party members and cadres as well as with the Party members of worker and peasant class".

During the Yanan period of 1937-42, when the Sino-Japanese war broke out, the Communists made extra efforts to push forward their activities to persuade students and intellectuals to join them in Yanan. As a result, many entered the People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political University, the 'Kang-ta', the successor of the Red Army Academy in Jiangxi. Later, when the influx of students and intellectuals increased, the Yanan Academy was opened. Two other similar institutions were also founded during this time. And in 1939, they were amalgamated to become the North China Associated University, with Cheng Fang-wu as president.

However, soon the Communists became aware of the impact of the ideas which the intellectuals brought along with them; these they called the bourgeois ideology. By 1942, they were so much alarmed that they had to inaugurate an ideological remoulding campaign so as to combat the various forms of 'counter-revolutionary ideology' such as liberalism and idealism. Mao spoke at the special conference of writers and artists at Yanan in May that year on literature and art, that they must serve political purposes and that writers and artists must be close to the masses and produce for the benefit of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers rather than for the minority of petty bourgeoisie. This marked the beginning of the long struggle which Mao called the 'ideological warfare' between the opposing classes, the revolutionary and the counter-revolutionary.

To sum up, at this point in the development of Communist policy toward the intellectuals, it was that of a twofold measure of 'absorbing' and 'reforming', and its formulation was based on the Communists' basic attitude toward the intellectuals, which was that of a need to win them over to participate in the whole revolutionary construction work; and

yet they were fundamentally distrustful of them, especially the ideas they held, which the Communists regarded as "products of bourgeois society and capitalist culture".

In 1948, on December 18, the Central Plain Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party issued a special directive instructing all Party members to "win over, unite with, reform and cultivate the intelligentsia". This directive was much more specific about the need for reforming the intellectuals than the Resolution of 1939. It explained not only their suspicion of them but also spelled out the counter-revolutionary elements in them. First of all, why couldn't the intellectuals be trusted? Because:

... Most of them come from families of landlords, rich peasants, and the bourgeois and petty bourgeois classes, and have long been contaminated by bourgeois education. Though the possibility exists that the majority of them may lean toward the revolution, they generally look down on the workers and peasants and stay away from the masses.⁸

The weaknesses of the Chinese intellectuals as seen by the Communists were obvious. Due to their association with the landlord class and the bourgeoisie, most of them were disdainful of the labouring people. Since most intellectuals have never participated in the hard struggle for production or in the bitter national and class struggle, they could only rely on book knowledge and consequently commit such ideological errors as subjective thinking, reformism, utopian socialism and egalitarianism. They lacked courage in combating reactionary forces; they were eager to participate in the revolution when it was successful, but became pessimistic when it suffered reverses. The petty bourgeoisie were accustomed to a libertine and individualistic way of life, and were averse to organization and discipline.

So the task of the Communist Party was defined as to "enable them to serve the people and to identify themselves with the workers and peasants it is incumbent upon us to carry on propaganda among them and to reform them ideologically." Based on the logic that the Communist Party is the "organized vanguard of the working class" and the only "true guardian of the interests of the people", intellectuals must follow the Communist Party and accept the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

The Communists had formulated their own criteria as to what sort of 'ideal intellectuals' they believed would serve the people. To them, all intellectuals should be competent in their respective fields of study or service. They must have the 'correct' ideological viewpoint or political outlook, with a high degree of 'political consciousness'. Not only must all intellectuals participate with the masses in the new society, they must also lead public opinion and set a good example to the masses; since the Communists lay great emphasis on mass support - the implementation of the 'mass line' requires the support of public opinion to solicit mass participation, so it is paramount that the people understand why they must work and for what they are working. Therefore, it is important not only for the intellectuals to acquire a new political and ideological orientation, but also for the people to appreciate the political objectives of the Party.

The Communists had always been very firm in their insistence on 'ideological correctness', because the Communist revolution is a 'total revolution', which aims to bring about radical changes in the entire social structure and even in the pattern of human behaviour. It sets out to replace the old way of life with a new working style, to substitute new allegiances to the Party and the masses for old loyalties,

and to introduce a new code of personal and social ethics. Other reforms in the political, social, educational and cultural fields are all important, but the most fundamental of all is ideological reform. Because the Communists believe that an ideologically correct person is likely to overcome old habits of thought and action and to become a successful worker for the revolution; whereas a person committed to the bourgeois and reactionary ideology is bound to fall into serious deviations in action and in thought.

2. Development of the Debate

Throughout the past three decades the Chinese Communists had engaged in the struggle against 'non-proletarian ideologies' or 'impure ideas', which constitutes the essence of the 'ideological remoulding campaigns'. The ideological struggle or thought struggle was regarded by Mao himself as the "weapon for attaining the solidarity between the Party and other revolutionary organizations..." (1937).

Before 1949, this "positive thought struggle" was carried out within the ranks of the Party members and Party workers, which in many ways was 'an inner-party struggle'. Liu Shao-chi wrote in 1941 stating very clearly what it was all about: "an ideological struggle is a struggle against all kinds of hostile and non-proletarian influences inside the Party."⁹ As early as 1929, Mao waged a 'thought struggle' against petty bourgeois ideologies which had then infected the Red Army. The ideas under attack included ultra-democratism, absolute egalitarianism, idealism and liberalism. In fact, 'thought struggle' was one of the main methods employed by the Party to forge unity and maintain discipline in the Chinese Communist Party. And the debate on red and expert is closely linked with the thought struggle.

a. The First Stage of the Debate (1949-55)

During the early years after the Liberation, the methods of reforming the intellectuals were that of encouraging them to form into study groups or join classes for self-remoulding.

In order to consolidate the military victory with victory on the ideological front, a nation-wide 'study movement' was inaugurated to indoctrinate the population with the doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and to promote "the self-education and ideological remoulding of the liberated people". Political education was carried out throughout the country, in regular schools, in all kinds of institutions, training classes which involved all people, peasants, workers, the school population as well as the professional workers. Its object was to enable the people to "reform their bad habits and thoughts derived from the old society". 'Correctness of thought' became a popular expression by the Party as well as the people. Mao's injunction at this time was 'study, study and again study'. Mao stated in 1951 at the CPPC Conference 23 October that "thought reform, especially that of the intellectuals, is one of the most important prerequisites for the realization of democratic reform and industrialization", because they are more likely than the uneducated masses to resist indoctrination and they are more likely to question the new ideology. The contents of the study movement included the theory and organization of the new Communist government, the current events as interpreted by the Party leaders, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

The mass study movement initiated activities in various forms throughout the country, the more important one was the setting up of joint-

committees of faculty and staff members in the universities and other higher educational institutions. They became the channel through which the Party directed the programme of political re-education. For example, a Joint Committee was organized in the University of Peking on October 16, 1949. According to its chairman, Professor Lo Chang-pei, the three major tasks of the committee were to unite with the masses, to establish the standpoint of the proletarian class, and to strengthen political study.¹⁰

About the same time, the Union of Educational Workers was established in Peking. Its membership included professors, teachers, staff members of all levels of schools as well as people working on the premises of the schools or educational institutions. One of its major tasks again was to promote the 'study movement' or hsueh-hsi movement. The Union, however, was only one of the many 'people's organizations' through which the Party carried out its policies, i.e. to make sure that the people were 'mobilized' by their voluntary organizations under the direction and control of the Party.

Moreover, there was political study through the organization of 'political classes' in all educational institutions whereby all personnel involved were required to attend. The content of the political classes covered topics such as historical materialism, history of social development, materialism and dialectic. After attending each political class which was usually in the form of a lecture given by prominent Party officials, students were required to engage in informal discussions and organize their material, incorporate their comments and personal reactions, which were to be submitted to the 'study committees' for criticism. Each of their submitted 'thought conclusions' was a personal testimony of the individual's ideological change. These political classes were systematically directed; the

study was organized in units, with each unit devoted to the elimination of certain 'erroneous ideas' or 'ideas belonging to the enemies'. The 'examination' at the end of the study programme was an important part of the study. Each person had to grade his own examination paper and then submit it to the study group to which he belonged. The group then discussed every paper to assess the 'correctness' of the grading. This they called the process of 'criticism and self-criticism'. There was also short-term political training. Teachers who were unable to attend political classes at 'revolutionary universities' were enlisted for intensive political training during summer and winter vacations; in addition, they were required to participate in the regular mass-study movement. According to incomplete figures released by the authority, during the early part of 1950, about 470,000 intellectuals participated in political study either in political universities or short-term political classes.¹¹

Revolutionary universities were established for the 're-education' of intellectuals in this early period. A 'revolutionary university' was set up in every 'military-political region',¹² such as:

North China People's Revolutionary University in Peking,
Southwest People's Revolutionary University in Chungking,
and East China University of Political Science and Military
Studies in Shanghai.

The purpose of which was to 'help' the intelligentsia to build up a revolutionary attitude and ideology of dialectical materialism as well as historical materialism. They provided intensive six-month courses in political education to "weed out non-proletarian or anti-proletarian ideology", such as superstition and idealism, and at the end it would turn out a new type of intellectual "devoted to the welfare of the masses". New methods of collective learning were employed, such

as group study in brigades, democratic grading by the group, criticism and self-criticism. Students were assigned labour duties on campus so that they might reform themselves through labour. Each student belonged to a group which shared a collective life. If a student happened to fail to conform to the new way of life, he would then be submitted to the inquisition of 'mass struggle meetings' in which he would be denounced as inimical to the revolution and the people. And to complete the course of the study, each would have to submit a report on his 'thought conclusions' after a tedious process of group examination through criticism and self-criticism.

According to one report, about 500,000 intellectuals of different professions participated in the revolutionary universities and political classes before the end of 1949. An equal number of teachers in elementary and secondary schools also received such training.¹³

Worker-peasant education was always important to guarantee the success of the socialist revolution. In order to produce a new type of proletarian intellegentsia unhampered by a bourgeois past, the Chinese People's University was established in Peking in March 1950 as the model of a 'university of the working class'. Its students were recruited from workers and cadres of 'worker-peasant' origin who had proved their ideological reliability and rendered valuable service to the proletarian cause either in production or in revolution work. Academic qualification was considered less important than political outlook. Among the 3,000 students enrolled in the autumn of 1950, 60% were cadres of worker-peasant origin and 6% were advanced industrial workers. And over 1,733 students were members of the New Democratic Youth League. The People's University was essentially modelled on the Soviet example under the call at that time to learn from "the

progressive experience of the Soviet Union". So Soviet advisers helped organize the curriculum and Soviet scholars occupied key teaching positions on the faculty. Soviet models were adopted in the preparation of textbooks and Soviet theories were accepted as teaching materials and in all fields of study. Other than the setting up of a worker's university, the Party also established special secondary and elementary schools for workers and peasants. Short-term middle schools were set up to provide them with an accelerated course in which six years of regular secondary education were reduced to three years. These were known as worker-peasant, short-term middle schools and their graduates were given preferential treatment when they applied for admission to institutions of higher education.

The Communist Party did not rely solely on theoretical study to reform the intellectuals, they demanded the intellectuals to identify themselves with the masses in action as well as in thought, so that they would 'heighten' and 'sharpen' their political consciousness by taking part in the mass movements and other forms of class struggle.

The land reform in 1950 was more than an economic programme, the agrarian reform was "the last and fiercest battle in the series of systematic class struggle to eradicate feudal influences". The Communist Party believed that participation in the 'land-reform struggle' would be highly beneficial to the reform of the intellectuals, especially when they failed to see the importance of class struggle. So from the end of 1949 to the beginning of 1950, thousands of students and intellectuals were organized into work teams to go to the villages under the direction of the trained cadres for a 'practical initiation into the social structure and class alignments of the rural areas.' Political consciousness, in essence, is class consciousness. So

to be progressive is to be an alert class fighter. The intellectuals had been taught to re-interpret all history in terms of class struggle. So in the land reform, they were to re-enforce their learning by direct participation in a class struggle. Thus they took part in mass meetings waging a 'fierce struggle' against the landlords in the villages, the class enemies of the 'people'. In a way they became part of a mass movement against feudalism. Not only did the students and professors of the universities participate in the land reform, but government workers also had to take time off to learn about the struggle as part of their study programme, for the ultimate aim of this movement was to liquidate feudalism. The Resist-America and Aid-Korea Campaign of 1950 was a mass movement launched by the government to eradicate imperialism. Protests against American imperialism were being organized. The crimes of American imperialism were denounced and exposed as exploitation. Pressure was exerted on the intellectuals, especially those who had been educated in American schools in China or in the United States, to renounce their past relations with American imperialism. As a result, petitions, protests, anti-aggression rallies, and demonstration parades were organized as a joint-effort to fight against imperialism. All anti-America activities were directed by the Resist-America Aid-Korea Association, which was organized in every city, university or school, factory and farm.

At the same time, the Communists charged that the Christian church was an instrument of American influence and must cut off all ties with imperialism before it could be of service to the people in the new democracy. So Christians had to purge themselves of their reactionary ideologies. A thought reform was carried out in the form of another mass movement, the "three-self movement" with the objective of making

the Chinese Christian church self-governing, self-supporting, and self-propagating.¹⁴ It began with the issue of a manifesto on September 30 1950, bearing the signatures of 1,527 progressive Christians who had pledged themselves to support the new regime. Missionary schools and colleges were taken over and transformed into government schools and colleges. The kind of 'ideological reform' the Christians went through was essentially the same as that of the intellectuals through study, group discussion, criticism and self-criticism.

In time, opposition became more prominent in sabotage acts and armed uprisings. In order to cope with the situation, the government actually adopted on February 20, 1951, the 'Regulations for the Suppression of Counter-Revolutionary Activities,'¹⁵ which made such acts punishable by death or life imprisonment. The Party also, at the same time, stepped up the programme of ideological remoulding or thought reform, especially for the teachers. By the end of 1951, the government was ready to initiate reforms in the entire educational system which had so far been left in its modified form. On October 1, 1951 the government promulgated a new school system modelled on the Soviet system. The editorial of Renmin Ribao of October 3rd, summarized the situation:

A school system is the reflection of the development of production and science in a given society...the school system of the capitalist states is a reflection of capitalist production and serves the monopolistic economy of the capitalist class. The school system of the socialist states is a reflection of the advanced methods of socialist production and meets the needs of socialist construction.

It was estimated that national construction would require technologists technicians, teachers of institutions of higher education, school teachers and medical and health workers. All of which had to be competent in their respective fields and they must also be rooted in

Marxism-Leninism. As a thorough-going process of ideological reform, strong measures were adopted. Firstly, it was the implementation of 'reformative study' (kai-tsao hsueh-hsi). Teachers in institutions of higher learning were ordered to undertake a period of 'reformative study', under the direction of the Ministry of Education in September 1951. It was regarded as necessary because, according to the central authority, the earlier 'study' programmes and participation in mass movements had not given the desired results as the teachers of this category had not yet disposed of their reactionary ideology. They still tended to retain the 'incorrect trends of thinking and working style': they retained the ideology of the European-American capitalist class. There was still strong individualism and subjectivism in thought and in attitude among the teachers in pursuing their personal interests; many of them were guilty of doctrinairism, which divorced theory from practice. In each higher institution, a local unit of the special committee of the Ministry of Education in charge of the thought reform of the college teachers was organized. The methods of study in this campaign included three main aspects: the study of Communist documents, reports and speeches by leading Communists and government officials and criticism and self-criticism. University presidents, deans, professors and the teaching staff were involved in the 'reformative study' where they were expected to criticise their own thought pattern and to recognize the reactionary nature of their ideas, then to declare their new stand and ideological conversion.

The campaign was extended to the schools of lower level. All teachers of higher, secondary and elementary schools were required to engage in 'political study' especially at 'winter school'. The then Minister of Education, Ma Hsu-lun, explained that "the main tasks of the teachers

in the winter schools were to explain the Resist-America Aid-Korea Campaign, the land reform, the agricultural producers cooperatives, the marriage law, etc. The cultural teaching programme must be tied in with political propaganda."¹⁶ The methods used were essentially the same as those of the college teachers: they were to understand the purpose of political study, to criticize reactionary thoughts existing in schools, to learn to differentiate between class friends and class enemies, to criticize the corrupt and decadent ideology and to establish the standpoint and viewpoint of serving the people.

Workers in literature and art were required to be reformed. A mass meeting for the mobilization of literary and art circles in thought reform and study was held in Beijing in November, 1951, to emphasize that literature and art should serve the masses, especially the proletarian class. Writers and artists were to make close contact with the people, they were organized to go to factories and farms to learn and to serve the masses. Reform classes were held for lawyers, physicians, research scientists, to get rid of their erroneous ideas of liberalism, individualism, aloofness from politics and from class distinctions. Moreover, personalizing the targets for criticism and attack was one of the methods used in the 'thought struggle' by choosing ideologically reprehensible persons as types representing a certain pattern of thinking. The few more significant targets of attack were: Li Li-san-ism representing the left opportunism; Li Ssu-hsi representing mentality; and criticism of Wu Hsun (武訓) as a propaganda for feudal culture;¹⁷ and others like J.L. Stuart, Chang Po-chun, Mei Yi-chi, Hu Shih, Liang Shu-ming, Chen Ho-chin, Chin Mu, etc.¹⁸

According to the authorities, personalized targets in the thought reform of intellectuals served the purposes of firstly, making the reform more concrete while specific study of Marxism-Leninism may remain in the realm of generalities and abstractions; secondly, using the targets as types or examples of ideological mistakes commonly committed by intellectuals, so that through self-examination, participants in these discussions could look within themselves to see if they, too, shared the errors symbolized by the target personality under attack; thirdly, calling for a complete break with the past as the people under attack represented traditions which the Communists set out to reform - since they were the symbols of the past, to denounce them was to break away from the old ideas; and fourthly, making it possible for the moulding of the thinking and emotions of the individuals through mass emotions and mass pressures, concerted attack on a personalized target could amount to a mass movement.

The government directive officially launching the Three-Anti and Five-Anti Campaign in 1951 declared that to increase production and practise economy were the important tasks then, but corruption and waste were the big enemies of production and economy, and bureaucratism was the breeding ground of corruption and waste. So, to combat these enemies, the directive called for a national struggle in the Three-Anti Campaign: 'anti-corruption, anti-waste, and anti-bureaucratism'. All citizens were asked to help expose cases of violation so that the guilty could be punished and the 'three evils' might be stamped out.

The struggle soon turned into another 'mass movement' in which the 'progressive elements' took the lead, and the others complied. People were mobilized to join first in a 'mass investigation campaign'. Others who were suspected of the 'crimes' were asked to examine

themselves and confess. When accusations and confessions were profuse, public trials and immediate punishment in the form of dismissal, fines or imprisonment were given great publicity. The movement began as an economic campaign but soon intensified into another episode of class struggle - this time a struggle against the members of the government and Party, because that was where corruption, waste and bureaucracy were found to be prevalent. There were many cases of bribery, misuse of public funds, extravagance and other acts of malpractice among the cadres. In order to shift the emphasis of the campaign from the people concerned, the Party claimed that the main culprit was the influence of 'bourgeois ideology' which had led the Party members astray. So to get to the root of the evil, it was necessary to concentrate the attack on the bourgeoisie and their ideology in the Five-Anti Campaign.

The Five-Anti Campaign was launched in 1952 to combat the five specific 'evils': bribery, tax evasion, fraud, theft of state assets, and leakage of state economic secrets. The Communists called these the 'sugar-bullets' which the bourgeoisie used to undermine or attack the moral fibre of government and Party personnel, so as to destroy the people's democracy. Agents of the bourgeoisie, as they claimed, had infiltrated the ranks of the labour unions as well as the government. So it was urgent that the entire nation should participate in the 'counter-offensive to repel the ferocious attacks of the bourgeoisie'. The Five-Anti Campaign soon became an attack especially on the city bourgeoisie, an urban counterpart of the land reform; while the land reform sought to eliminate the landlords as a class, this was to purge the city bourgeoisie.

The previous events might seem to be centred on 'thought reform' for

all the people, but the real target was the intellectuals. When the Five-Anti Campaign developed into a systematic struggle against 'bourgeois ideology', the intellectuals were again related with their bourgeois background. As expected, they were asked to cleanse themselves of their bourgeois ideas, and to yield themselves completely to the new order; failure to do so was adequate evidence of their 'bourgeois ideology'.

However, it could not be hidden that there were waste, corruption and bureaucratism in higher institutions which had caused inevitable losses to the country. According to a Qangming Ribao report, existence and prevalence of 'bourgeois ideology' and bourgeois practices could be seen in the flourishing of a particularism as manifested in various departments within a higher institution fighting for larger shares of the budget than they actually needed, with the result of holding large quantities of unused equipment and unused funds.

Methods used in the campaign in schools and colleges varied from discussions and accusations to self-examination and public confessions. Students were organized to 'expose' their teachers and their confessions were demanded to clear themselves.

- It is significant to quote an article written by Li Da, president of Hunan University at that time, stating his interpretation of the movement, entitled "The three-anti movement in institutions of higher education should be co-ordinated with the ideological reform movement",¹⁹ which summed up the basis of one of the major debates in Chinese educational development, the question of red and expert in 1958. He said that the three-anti campaign in the institutions of higher education "is not only a class struggle in political and economic fields, but also an

ideological struggle. It aims not only at crushing the attacks of the bourgeois class, but also at eliminating the bourgeois mentality." So far, the Party as well as the public had used the term 'bourgeois ideology' so often to formulate accusations, but few had actually got down to specifying what the term really meant and what exactly they were referring to when they used it against each other. Li Da made a clear and concrete expression of what he saw as the 'bourgeois mentality' common among intellectuals in the higher institutions. The characteristics of the 'bourgeois mentality' were highlighted as pride and conceit, being disdainful toward the labouring masses by identifying themselves with the exploiting class as opposed to the working class. They divorced themselves from politics and class struggle by holding themselves aloof. They lacked devotion to the institution, except for its prestige and security. They isolated theory from practice, showing no concern for China's practical needs but in pursuit of scholarship from the idealistic and capitalist viewpoint. There were competitions among departments instead of collaboration and formation of cliques. Most of them lacked political consciousness, as they discouraged students' political study, retained their pro-American outlook, and rejected the fundamental reforms ordered by the Party.

The students followed suit, and according to Li Da, they too had the kind of 'bourgeois mentality' which was prevalent among university students. They neglected ideological and political study by preoccupying themselves with techniques and book knowledge. Their desire was for qualification in order to get a job. They wasted public money and property by claiming for government help and social benefits. Most of them did not have political consciousness and showed little interest in collective activities and group discussions. They resented discipline and indulged in pleasure.

More often, any non-Marxist ideas would be considered as 'bourgeois ideology' so much so that sometimes pragmatism, idealism or liberalism could be used to label all undesirable ideas to the Communist regime. But generally speaking, the main target of attack always came back to a few, such as individualism which the Party considered as the opposing force to the collectivism which they tried to promote. Because they saw that in the pursuit of 'selfish' personal interest, the scholars were neglecting public welfare and ignoring the masses. And in their academic studies, they did not concern themselves with politics and confined themselves to their specialization and departmental programmes. This, the Communist Party regarded as a severe blockage to the progress of education and greatly undermined the chances of success in implementing reforms. So, the scholars were told to discard their preoccupation with academic pursuit which the Party considered as advancing their own personal ambitions; basically it was considered wrong to be concerned with raising one's 'scholarly status'. What was expected of them was their submission to government policies and plans for the consolidation of the departments of reorganization or merging of certain institutions of higher learning. Another common target was Americanism, or 'pro-American mentality'. Individualism of the intellectuals was expressed in their pursuit of personal ambitions, their search for fame and personal gain, their desire for individual freedom, and their other forms of 'selfishness'.

Intellectuals should, according to the Communist Party, place themselves without reservation at the service of the Party and the State; personal needs and interests should be subordinate to the needs of the State and the people. In short, the individuals must submit to the group and obey the organization. This is what a collective society

demands. For example, when the professors in Tsinghua University hesitated to accept the government plan to change the university into a technical college for fear that it might result in a deterioration of academic standards, the Party pointed out that these so-called 'standards' were really 'American standards' and their preference for a university was a result of their 'pro-American mentality'. Pro-Americanism was not restricted to one or two institutions; according to an official report, it was found very prevalent among university faculties.

Other targets were reformism, liberalism, conciliationism and bourgeois sentimentalism. According to the Communist definition, reformism means the 'incorrect' perception that society can be gradually improved by reform instead of changed by revolution. The exploiting class uses this as their ground to prevent the revolt of the masses; thus to advocate reformism is to serve the interests of the exploiting class. Liberalism means not only personal freedom but also unwillingness to accept the discipline of the group. Conciliationism is a tendency to compromise and to placate the enemy, contrary to the resolute courage and determination of the revolutionaries. Bourgeois sentimentalism refers to what the Communists call 'hypocritic bourgeois virtues' of kindness and humaneness which condemns the harsh realities of class struggle. And all these must be overcome in the process of the 'thought reform'.

The adoption of the first Five-Year Plan in 1953 was a major move by the Party in the direction of building socialism after the early years of consolidation of power. The shift of emphasis in the change of policy by 1954 is adequately reflected in the differences between the Common Programme of 1949 and the Constitution of 1954. The keynote

of the Common Programme was the New Democracy and it was replaced by 'the attainment of a socialist society' in the Constitution, with the emphasis on 'the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce'. Mao, on July 31, 1955, spoke of the campaign for agricultural cooperatives and declared: "throughout the Chinese countryside a new upsurge in the socialist mass movement is in sight..." This 'upsurge of the socialist tide' was the final liquidation of capitalism as well as the 'bourgeois ideology'. All obstacles in the way of the socialist construction or transformation demanded centralized control of the entire economy by the state and further strengthening of political power.

Socialist construction called for the service of all available intellectuals in China. But many were still not convinced of the new policies nor were they willing to identify themselves with the new regime. So new methods had to be devised to induce the intellectuals to give their service.

b. The Second Stage - Pacification and Re-examination (1955-57)

An urgent need for the intellectuals' service and the dissatisfaction of the intellectuals with the new order made it necessary for a re-examination of the problem of the intellectuals. While there was increased pressure on the peasants to join co-operatives and collectives, and on private business people to convert their enterprises into state-owned or state-directed enterprises, the need of a large force of trained personnel to undertake the 'socialist construction' work was mounting. The Party authority was not unaware of the increase of restlessness, frustration and a deep-seated dissatisfaction among the intellectuals.

The dissatisfaction of the intellectuals was obvious. They were stripped of the honour, prestige, and social status which they used to enjoy in Chinese society. They were under continuous pressure to 'study' and to 'reform'. Above all, they were forced to accept almost indiscriminately the 'Sovietization of Chinese education'. Higher education was reorganized according to the Soviet example; Soviet text-books and teaching materials were adopted; Soviet experts were 'invited' to teach and guide studies in universities. Even those who were pro-government had criticized that narrow Sovietization resulted in the mechanical conformity to political requirements and in the degradation of academic learning. Another aggravating factor which made the intellectuals further dissatisfied was the necessity of accepting the supervision and 'leadership' of cadres whom the Communist Party trusted as reliable and progressive revolutionaries with a high degree of political consciousness and revolutionary experience, but who were completely ignorant of academic studies or administration. These Party functionaries interfered with the research activities of the scientists and imposed on the intellectuals thought reform programmes and political education. Many intellectuals complained that they were so burdened with political tasks that they had little time and energy for their professional duties, as all intellectuals were required to take part in 'revolutionary activities' so that their thought reform could be integrated with revolutionary action.

By the end of 1955, the situation had become so serious that reconsideration of the policy toward the intellectuals was required. Discussions sponsored by the various 'democratic parties' were held throughout the country. The theme under study was 'unity and reform of the intellectuals' and it included an investigation into the

conditions of work of the intellectuals and the formulation of a preliminary plan of future work to assist the Party.

The CCCP called a special conference to discuss the matter on January 14 to 20, 1956. This marked a new phase of the Communist effort to win over and reform the intellectuals. Zhou Enlai spoke in the conference giving clear indication of what the Party was prepared to do in solving the problem of the intellectuals.

Zhou stated that the purpose of the conference was to strengthen the Party's leadership of intellectuals, and of scientific and cultural work. The Party in turn "must reply....on the fraternal alliance of workers, peasants and intellectuals....To find a correct solution for the question of intellectuals, to mobilize them more effectively and make fuller use of their abilities....has therefore become essential".²⁰

Then he quoted some figures to illustrate the situation as the Party saw it in regard to the achievement of the Party's policy of "uniting, educating, and remolding the intellectuals". He observed that a fundamental change had taken place among the intellectuals since 1949. Among those intellectuals engaged in scientific research, education, engineering, public health, cultural work and arts, about forty percent were then actively supporting the Party and the government, and the other forty percent or so formed an intermediate section who also gave their support and generally completed the tasks assigned to them, but were not active politically; of the rest, over ten per cent were backward intellectuals who lacked political consciousness and ideologically opposed socialism. There was another group, constituting less than ten per cent, which was composed of counter-revolutionaries or rather bad elements.

He went on to acknowledge that Party policy had been inadequate and that there were definite shortcomings which must be overcome so that Party leadership over the intellectuals could be strengthened. One of the shortcomings mentioned was putting intellectuals in wrong positions where they could not make their most useful contributions, like assigning research scientists to do administrative work in offices and schools. So "we must take firm measures to correct this bureaucratism, sectarianism, and departmentalism in the treatment of intellectuals". Another shortcoming was failure to show them appropriate confidence. Zhou even pointed out that Party members and Youth League members "not only did not respect the non-Party intellectuals but also considered them as outsiders"; as a result, there was no 'mutual understanding' among the people and between the Party and the intellectuals.

Then he proceeded to promise the intellectuals that the Party was prepared to improve the working and living conditions for them by providing them with better living quarters and better facilities for carrying on their professional activities, such as more reference books and equipment, higher salaries, more rewards and incentives. The Central Committee had also ruled that they should have "at least five-sixths of the working day (40 hours a week) available for their work", with the rest of the time given to 'political study', meetings and various other political activities.

On the paramount problem of remoulding the intellectuals, Zhou made it very clear that "the question of the intellectuals cannot be considered in isolation from class struggle, and remoulding of the intellectuals is a reflection of the class struggle." Then he went on specifying that intellectuals must become 'red experts' devoted to the cause of socialism. For the first time, the term 'red experts' was used in the

context of the problem of the intellectuals. It is essential to see how Zhou, representing Party opinion, interpreted the 'red expert' by looking at his discussion on those who were not. They were those who:

failed to differentiate between friend and foe, between the Communist party and the Kuomintang, between the Chinese people and imperialism;

those who were dissatisfied with the policies and measures of the Party and the government, and hankered after capitalism or even feudalism;

these people were hostile to the Soviet Union and unwilling to learn from her; they refused to study Marxism-Leninism, and sneered at it; some of them despised labour, the labouring people and government workers who came from families of working people by refusing to mix with them;

they were unwilling to accept the growth of new forces and considered progressives as opportunists;

they had enormous conceit, refusing to accept anyone's leadership or criticism, and above all;

they denied the interests of the people and of society by concentrating on their own interests.

The speech of Zhou was important because it set the criteria which could be used later on to look at the validity of the debate on 'red and expert'. Besides, many of the items set forward echoed with those that had previously been mentioned in the first stage of development of thought reform, this could mean that the problem of 'ideological remoulding' of the intelligentsia has remained essentially unsolved so that repeated efforts had to be employed to carry the 'struggle' through.

The new Party policy toward the intellectuals in May 1956 was "Let a hundred flowers blossom together; let a hundred schools (of thought) contend". Mao first used this slogan in his address to the Supreme State of Conference on May 2, 1956. But it was Chien Chun-jui, the

former Vice-Minister of Education, who revealed it first in his published speech at the Advanced Producers' Representatives Conference on May 9, 1956.²¹ However, in order to impress upon the intellectuals the relaxation of the rigid control on thought and scholarship, Kuo Mo-jo, president of the Academy of Sciences, called a meeting of the leading intellectuals in Beijing on May 26, 1956 and asked Lu Ting-yi, director of the Propaganda Department of the CCPCC, to make a full statement on the new policy.

Lu's address was entitled "Let a hundred flowers blossom, let a hundred schools contend".²² He explained that the basic reason for the new policy was to promote "the luxuriant development of literature, art and science". It also meant that the Party allowed "freedom of independent thinking, freedom of debate, freedom of creative work, freedom to criticize, to express and maintain one's own views" in literature, art and scientific research. He further qualified his statements by defining freedom in the context of the Party's interpretation. Freedom to counter-revolutionary elements was not permitted, but freedom and democracy for the people was allowed. So, freedom for 'contending schools' was, therefore, a freedom for the people to be exercised among the people under government control. The new freedom did not apply to all matters; it applied only to certain points of difference within the people themselves. In other words, there was a clear distinction between an ideological struggle among the people and the struggle against counter-revolutionaries; and only to the former was the new policy to be allowed. The new policy of 'contending schools' did not concede the survival of idealism and non-Marxist ideologies. It was only a new method used by the Party to push forward the thought reform which so far had not been achieved. Lu put it in such a way that

"ideological questions cannot be settled by administrative orders..only through open debate can materialism overcome idealism....." This was the essence of the new freedom that people with non-Marxist ideas were encouraged to openly discuss their views so that their errors could be shown, and they would be convinced of their 'wrong thinking'. The policy aimed at unity that was based on conscious and voluntary agreement rather than mechanical obedience.

As a result, the year 1956 was punctuated by more open discussions and criticisms than any other time in the history of Communist rule. In forum discussions, participants ventured to express independent views instead of repeating the party line. The twelve-year plan in education and culture had encouraged more proposals and more publications. A broader scope of study and research was adopted in both sciences and social sciences. The mechanical copying of Soviet models and blind acceptance of Soviet theories were openly criticized, and the detrimental effects of regimentation and creativity on the part of the teachers was condemned. Generally the intellectuals enjoyed a great flexibility in carrying out their professional activities.

Still, the restlessness among the intellectuals had spread to other sectors of the society. Students, who had responded positively to the call for revolutionary construction, became restive under the rigid regimentation of Party instructions. They disliked being assigned to studies, jobs and places of work without reference to their personal preferences. Some rejected the inflexible prescription of studies, and the compulsory political activities. So student disturbance and student strikes began to appear. Then there were signs of peasant unrest. Co-operatives were not functioning smoothly and some peasants did not want to give up the land they had acquired through the land

reform. There were peasants who were not co-operating to meet the production quotas; some who left their farms and drifted to the cities, creating a new problem of unemployment in the urban areas. Widespread peasant discontent was not to be ignored. On top of the general political and economic unrest, there was a shortage of consumer goods and food due to natural disasters. Production was dropping in the factories, and the workers shown their discontent in absenteeism and other forms of passive resistance, in strikes and even open riots.

In order to deal with the crisis, Mao, on February 27, 1957, at the Supreme State Conference, spoke to a large audience on "The Correct Handling of Contradictions among the people",²³ during which he proposed a change of approach in handling the unchanging policy of the Party. Mao first tried to recognize the realities of widespread discontent and internal conflicts at that time, then he tried to show how these difficulties must be met by methods other than undisguised suppression and hard punishment. In his view, they arose from certain conflicts or contradictions, which were tensions growing out of class differences. The chief ones were "contradiction between the working class and the peasantry on the one hand, and the intelligentsia, on the other", and also "the contradiction between the working class and the national bourgeoisie". As a matter of fact, the contradictions to which Mao referred were conflicts between the Communists and the intelligentsia, and between the Communist and the bourgeoisie as they were manifested in the resistance of the intelligentsia and the bourgeoisie to the Marxist remoulding that had been imposed on them.

Apart from the contradictions between classes, Mao recognized that there existed tensions within each class too, such as contradictions within the working class, within the intelligentsia, within the

national bourgeoisie etc.

There were contradictions within the people's democracy as well. People did not identify themselves with the state or the collective group. They resented the bureaucrats and cadres. Mao described these conditions as "contradictions between the government and the masses". And "these included contradictions between the interests of the state, collective interests, and individual interests; between democracy and centralism, between those in the positions of leadership and the led; and contradictions arising from the bureaucratic practices of certain state functionaries in their relation with the masses".

Mao repeated his old ideas On Contradiction (1937) to justify his position in dealing with the existing contradictions and to distinguish between two types of contradictions which needed different handling. "We are confronted by two types of social contradictions: contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and contradictions among the people. These two types of contradictions are totally different in nature". The 'people' he defined as "at this stage of building socialism, all classes, strata, and social groups that approve, support and work for the cause of socialist construction belong to the category of the people, while those social forces and groups that resist the socialist revolution and are hostile to and try to wreck socialist construction are enemies of the people". As long as a person accepted socialism and supported the programme of the Communist Party and put in efforts to remould his thought and ideological outlook, he was not to be considered as 'enemy' even though he might be critical and dissatisfied. He was still considered as one of the 'people'. This was where the new policy of moderation differed from the previous methods of coercion and indiscriminate

suppression. Instead "democratic methods of discussion, of criticism, of persuasion and education" were to be applied. And above all, "underlying the contradictions among the people, there is the basic identity of the interests of the people".

When he referred to the question of the intellectuals, he restated that the basic policy remained unchanged. "They must continue to remould themselves, gradually shed their bourgeoisie world outlook and acquire a proletarian, Communist world outlook so that they can fully meet the needs of the new society and closely unite with the workers and peasants". The new method was not crude or coercive, but "to let a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend", and by methods of 'discussion, criticism and reasoning'. And a distinction between 'fragrant flowers' and 'poisonous weeds' had to be made. However, there were limits to the 'flowers' and 'schools' that were permitted to flourish.

To sum up, Mao's speech revealed the undercurrent of dissatisfaction prevalent in the country. But the government was ready for more moderate policies, more effective corrective measures to improve living conditions for the masses as well as the intellectuals, to initiate a rectification campaign within the Party to correct 'leadership errors', and to re-affirm the 'hundred school contending' policy to allow for more criticism throughout the country. This new policy was submitted to the Eighth National Congress of the Communist Party in September 1956.

In response to the new policy, intellectuals who were concerned with their academic pursuits spoke up against the limitations imposed on them. Criticism came from scholars in various fields of study. But

many joined the complaints against the stifling of academic life by Party cadres. They reported that scholars had been afraid to express their opinion, for the slightest 'error' might invite the charge of 'reactionary thinking'. They echoed Lo Lung-chi's declaration that "scholars would rather accept death than humiliation" and that the Party could only win the intellectuals by according them due respect and appreciation. They even raised the question as to whether the 'leadership' of the Communist Party was essential in such technical academic questions as the reform of language, for example, or the nature of scientific research. They went further to point out the harm done to academic learning by the doctrinairism of the Party cadres, who held that all discussions of physiology must conform with the theories of Pavlov, and that the theories of Michurin constituted the biology of the proletariat while those that of Morgan represented the biology of the bourgeoisie. And they did not hesitate to reveal their fear that charges might be brought against them as nurturing idealism or reactionary ideology by Party cadres if they should really 'contend'.

For example, prominent educationalists, like the then director of the Beijing University, Lu Ping, believed that China should "learn from the Soviet Union, but also draw references from Britain and the United States", "follow the steps of the old Peking University", and "use the University of Moscow as an example". He advocated the introduction of Western academic studies and the learning of the past, but he opposed the policy of 'half-work half-study', as this would interfere with the basic instruction and learning programmes and greatly affect the training of students in fundamental and systematic theory studies. So according to him, students' involvement in productive labour should be reduced to the minimum, say not more than a month each year, and

for the teachers less than half a month, and should not require them to go to the factory or country. He stressed performance and academic standard, and was opposed to students from working class and peasant families having special privileges. And above all, he put forward the idea of putting professional proficiency in command rather than politics.

Another educationalist, the then director of Nanking University, Kuang Ya-ming, believed rather in achievement of scientific research, authority of scholarship, academic achievement and material conditions. He advocated the system of colleges for the university, school autonomy and theoretical studies. For him, there should be no separation between the working people and the 'bourgeoisie', but they should be combined into one and be treated as one class.

Others, like Li Da, the then director of Wuhan University, all insisted on academic freedom and autonomy, so as to minimize the interference of the Party in academic programmes. But, of course, all their ideas were taken as offences against the mass-line principle, or Mao's line. They were accused of attacking the objectives of proletarian education, opposing the educational revolution movement, opposing the leadership of the Communist Party, and discriminating against the cadres and students from working class and peasant family backgrounds. It was obvious that the Party was becoming uneasy with the criticisms and was determined to stop the alarming outburst of un-proletarian thinking. Before long, the 'counter attack' was launched against these outspoken critics.

A series of incidents occurred to enlist popular support for the Campaign against Rightists in June 1957. Formal charges were made

against individuals, such as Chang Po-chun and Lo Lung-chi. Two newspapers were charged with falling under the control of Rightists and with spreading anti-socialist views: the Guangming Ribao in Beijing and the Wenhui Bao in Shanghai. The 1957 campaign against the Rightists was another step in the process of thought reform of the intellectuals, and the methods adopted were similar to those employed before.

The Party broadened the campaign to weed out 'anti-socialist' and 'anti-Party' ideas and people throughout the country. However, no 'Rightist' intellectuals were physically liquidated. Editors of the denounced newspapers and periodicals were relieved of their posts and the 'Rightists' occupying leading positions in the non-Communist parties were ousted by their colleagues. The Communist Party did not go beyond the denunciation campaign and only pressure for self-examination and confession was employed.

The essence of the anti-Rightist campaign was the continuous exposure of Right elements, and it allowed for more analysis of mistakes and criticism of ideology. The 'denounced' became the 'living teaching material' for the masses.

The Party charted out the four stages of their rectification campaign as: open airing of views in accordance with the 'hundred schools', a policy which made possible the detection of Rightist elements; second, launching of the anti-Rightist campaign; third, beginning a positive programme of improving the work of the government and construction programmes; and fourth, emphasizing study of documents, and the practice of criticism and self-criticism, as well as raising the level of ideological and political consciousness.

c. The Third Stage - The Great Debate of "Onward to the Goal of Thoroughly Red and Profoundly Expert" (1958-67)

According to Yang Hsiu-feng (楊秀峰), Minister of Education then, 1958 was a year of "great educational revolution" in which "a great leap forward was made in education" through the implementation of the policy of "coordinating education with productive labour" and the implementation of the "mass line for organizing schools by the entire party and all the people and the adoption of the policy of walking on two legs".

In 1958, the CCPCC issued a directive calling for the combination of education with productive labour and the submission of education to the political requirements of the proletariat. Thus, the theme of the 'educational revolution' was centered on the relationship between education and politics, and education must serve the political ends of the working people.

Implementation of the two new policies generated considerable conflict, especially when teachers and students alike were required to participate in various types of productive labour - in factories and mines, in rural communes, etc. The policy of 'walking on two legs' called for both the simultaneous operation of schools by the state and the people in factories, mines and communes, etc., and the simultaneous promotion of various forms of education such as general, vocational, children's and adult, full-day and half-day, spare-time, etc. These new attempts sparked off controversial debates, first on the fundamental issue of the relationship between education and politics and second on the relationship between 'red consciousness' and 'vocational expertness'. Meanwhile, there was open resistance to the Party's new educational

guidelines, especially from the intellectuals inside the institutes of higher education who strongly opposed the idea of requiring intellectuals to take up manual labour, as well as students' participation in labour. Their argument was that such activities would greatly reduce the time during which they could devote themselves to academic work and students would not have sufficient time to concentrate on their studies; the likely result would be lowering of the educational standard and so the quality of education would suffer.

The Renmin Ribao editorial of March 23, 1958, published a special article on the question of "Onward to the goal of thoroughly red and profoundly expert", attempting to clarify the situation of the debates.

The official party interpreted the debate over the question of red and expert as a struggle between the 'two paths' and the 'two methods' in connection with educational work.²⁴ And it originated in the movement of ideological transformation of intellectuals, especially those high-level intellectuals, so that they would become thoroughly red and profoundly expert and devote themselves to the service of the people and the Communist Party. This they regarded as an essential part of the socialist construction.

According to them, the problem lay in the situation that intellectuals failed to transform themselves consciously by retaining most of the conservative ideas and habits such as thinking only in terms of personal profit, fame and of individual interests, so they carried out their work only according to their academic viewpoints, the viewpoints of the capitalist class, holding in esteem their professional work and slighting political matters, severing theory from practice, and above all, lacking in feelings for the workers and farmers. As a result,

research personnel refused to conduct research in problems of production, and the professors in university regarded knowledge as private property and refused to pass it on to students, thus intentionally ignoring the students' improvement. Engineers refused to contribute to national construction by playing connoisseur, and writers continued to spread the poison of capitalist ideology. There were also those who pretended to be academic authorities, stole others' achievement, suppressed newcomers, maintained conservative ideas, and remained backward through self-satisfaction and complacency. The conclusion was that it was the greatest waste for the intellectuals to be neither red nor expert. Because intellectuals who still harboured ideas of capitalist individualism could not promote progress, they instead produced regression. They became obstacles to the onward progress in the development of socialist science, technology, culture and education.

Since the debate on this question of being red and expert in the institutions of higher education began in September 1957, divergent opinions appeared on this issue. Some insisted that, as long as the high-level intellectuals performed their professional jobs well and efficiently, they should be regarded as serving socialism. Others held that there was hardly enough time to become expert, and it would be quite impossible to be both red and expert. The more severe argument claimed that one who was expert but not red contributed more to the State than one who was red but not expert.

However, these opinions were quickly labelled as 'conservative' and 'capitalist' without carefully considering their practical relevance. The basis of the official rationalization lay in their conception of the demand for 'redness' and truth, so they claimed that politics should be in supreme command. The rationale for their claim

was based on their definition of being red' as representing the goal wherein every intellectual should have a political attitude compatible with socialist society. Since revolution had changed the system of ownership from private to socialist, the foundation of society had changed, so had the superstructure. Thus, the ideology of men must also undergo a revolution to rid themselves of capitalist individualism and establish new concepts of collectivism of the working class. This meant that everyone should determine to place himself wholeheartedly at the service of the people and socialism. Capitalist individualism is incompatible to socialist society because as an ideology it represents a force which would guide the development of society through division into tens of thousands of selfish individuals and small cliques which would fight against one another for their own interests, thus promoting regression of society into capitalism. On the other hand, collectivism would promote progress by organizing the strength of scientists 'in one heart and mind' to concentrate on the practical problems which were revealed in the process of production and livelihood and the fundamental problems of science. It is a measure to act against individual monopoly of research on problems particular to individual interest. This particular interpretation should be seen in the context of the fundamental impossibility of catching up with the world's level of advancement through individual effort alone.

They set forth in very specific terms what was expected of the intellectuals. For natural scientists they should have socialist consciousness, establish ideas and working styles of collectivism, devote themselves to serving the people and not alienate themselves from politics. For the philosophers, they should have an even higher degree of socialist consciousness, know the most general objective rules

governing changes and development of the natural world, society and cognition, possess knowledge of both natural and social sciences.

Social scientists, then, should have a definite degree of knowledge of philosophy and social sciences, and pursue their own field of studies thoroughly from the viewpoint of Marxism.

After rationalization, the official argument was presented. In socialist society, everyone must promote his individual role through the great superiority of collective force. Either being expert without red or being red without expert would mean a waste of the manpower of the State. Because when one was not red, he would rely on his individual subjective thinking to carry out his work instead of the collective idea, he would then become a practical worker who had 'lost his sense of direction' and eventually lag behind others in academic achievement. On the other hand, if he were not expert, he would fail to grasp the key problems in work. Mao once said, as they quoted, "Any analysis divorced from concrete facts will not lead to understanding of the special nature of any contradictions". They reckoned that there were difficulties involved in becoming both red and expert, especially when the academic level in general was not high. However, once they chose to interpret 'concrete facts' as politics, which they held must guide actual work and action, the primary condition for advancement was destined to be 'red', at least in the first place, before becoming expert.

When the Sino-Soviet relationship deteriorated, the Soviet Union withdrew all their scientific experts, leaving the construction programmes unfinished. In addition, the country was suffering from the aftermath of natural disaster, resulting in economic downfall. The ideology of 'collectivism' or 'redness' was being challenged. The heavy emphasis on 'being red' rather than on being 'expert' made school administrators,

teachers and students neglect academic work in order to carry out political and productive labour activities, resulting in a drastic drop in the standard of education. This phenomenon forced the authorities to reconsider the relationship between quality and quantity in education, and in order to respond to the demand for raising the standard of education, they were forced to embark on a new shift in educational policy by reducing the time periods allocated for participation in political activities and physical labour to allow the staff and students more time for academic study; thus reflecting a change in priorities.

Under the particular circumstances, the debate on 'red' and 'expert' moved into a different phase. In a speech to the 1962 graduates of Beijing's higher institutions, Chen Yi stated:

"The relationship between 'redness' and 'expertness' is the same as that between politics and one's speciality ...and for socialist construction, we need all kinds of personnel... We must attach importance to both politics and our specialities... We must combine them together. There is never anything like abstract politics. Politics always asserts itself through other specialities."

Fu Chen-sheng, too, in his speech to students of institutions of higher education in Changchun in October 1961, expressed his opinion 'concerning the question of study', and reinstated the relationship between redness and 'vocational proficiency.'²⁵ But instead of saying that socialist construction required nothing but collectivism, the argument viewed it differently and considered it in terms of the goal to build China into a socialist power with modern industry, agriculture, science and culture as fast as possible. Therefore, it was necessary to build a powerful army of intellectuals from the working people. Redness and vocational proficiency were united, interpermeating and complementary. When political consciousness acted as the driving force to develop

one's ability, ability in turn would broaden understanding, and therefore help to establish firmly the revolutionary world outlook. So the redness of the intellectuals and students should find expression in their adopting the building of socialism as their driving force to continuously raise the quality of the line of study in which they each specialized. When these specialized personnel met with the construction needs of the country, they proved the success of politics. The main tone of the argument was then integration of redness and expertness with the manifestation of politics through different kinds of 'specific business'.

d. Development of the Debate in the midst of the Re-education Movement and the Great Cultural Revolution (1968-1975)

Trapped in the two-line Party struggle in 1964-65, the debate on red and expert was given a very different meaning as well as purpose in the Party's whole campaign of ideological transformation. The 'socialist education' campaign of 1963 and 1964 was launched to clean up problems in the main areas of politics, ideology, organization and the economy. As a matter of fact, in response to the call to turn 'intellectuals into labourers and revolutionaries', more than 300,000 educated youths throughout the country left the cities and went to the rural areas and mountain regions to participate in rural socialist construction. Mao himself initiated the 'rectification' campaign, the 'four clean-up' movement in 1964 and stated in his 23-article document on "Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas" that "the main target of the present movement is those persons within the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road". It was a confrontation between revisionism and Maoism, a

political conflict which was reflected in the shift of educational policy once again.

So there was a re-emphasis on political education and productive labour and in December 1965, it was officially decided that the educational system should be transformed according to the basic concept of 'half-work and half-study' of the Great Leap Forward, in view of a rapid expansion of educational opportunities as well as facilities. The half-study and half-work schools had been criticized by many of their students' performance and academic standard. So as a result, a two-track educational system of school was developed, in which the state school system provided full-time study, and a separate system of schools offered half-work half-study programmes. Students of better ability were admitted to the full-time schools. This, in fact, was known at that time to be the 'two-track educational system and the two kinds of labour' advocated by Liu Shao-chi, which was later considered by the Leftists as a replication of the 'double-track' system of capitalist education. And as expected, the Leftists attacked these schools saying that they put abilities in command, rather than putting politics in command, thereby enabling bourgeois intellectuals to assume leadership of schools. Moreover they enlarged the gap between mental and physical labour, therefore pushing the young people toward the 'slough' of revisionism.

When the Rightists (Liu Shao-chi, Lu Ting-yi, etc.) stressed the education of an elite group with academic standards protected by a system of formal examinations, the Leftists or Maoists stressed training successors to the proletarian revolutionary enterprise. So in order to 'eliminate the bourgeois intellectuals and workers', the programme of half-work half-study was given official endorsement in December 1965,

so as to make the half-work half-study system universal and to apply it even to well-functioning full-time schools. As the two-line struggle intensified, when the Rightists recommended the reduction of the students' political activities and class education, the Maoists accused them of adopting the policy of 'protectionism', depriving the young ones of the opportunity of learning the reality of class struggle.

The Circular of the CCPCC (May 1966) set forth the 'principles' of the Cultural Revolution saying that "it is a militant call to the proletariat and the broad masses of the revolutionary people, under the conditions of socialism, to march against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes", it also established the theory, Party-line, principles, and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat as advocated by Mao Zedong himself.

The movement began with the CCPCC appointing a Cultural Revolution group to study the question of the nature of art and literature in a socialist culture. So under the direction of Peng Chen (彭真), a group of five who were in charge of the cultural revolution drafted an "Outline Report of the Current Academic Discussions". But the report was attacked by the CCPCC as an attempt to defend Wu Han, the writer who had been greatly criticised by Mao himself as having attacked the Party in his writings. The Circular mentioned above was a repudiation of the "Outline Report". As a result, the group was dissolved, and a new Cultural Revolution Group was set up.

Immediately after the dissemination of the Circular, unrest in the academic community began to stir. "Big-character posters" (da-zi-bao) criticizing the authority and the establishment were seen around universities, higher institutions, middle schools, factories and other

enterprises. On August 5, 1966, Mao issued his own 'da-zi-bao' entitled "Bombard the Headquarters", strongly criticizing those leading comrades from the central Party down to local levels who had adopted the reactionary stand of the bourgeois. (This was a significant weapon Mao used in the struggle against Liu Shao-chi and his supporters). On August 8, the CC adopted the "Decision of the CCPCC Concerning the Great Proletariat Cultural Revolution" announcing the new stage of the socialist revolution in China of the working people meeting "head-on with every challenge of the bourgeoisie in the ideological field and using the new ideas, culture, customs and habits of the proletariat to change the mental outlook of the whole society". It continued to set out the sixteen points which became the guidelines for the Cultural Revolution.

As the movement quickly gained force, student groups organized as "Red Guards" launched severe attacks against revisionism and bourgeois ideology against old habits, old ideas and the old culture as well. With the direct support from Mao, the Red Guards spread throughout the nation and they were made to think that they were carrying out the mission of "destroying the old and establishing the new". So the enemies were clearly identified as the 'four-olds' - old ideas, culture, customs and habits, the 'bourgeois reactionary line'. And most important of all, Mao's thought "should be taken as the guide to action in the cultural revolution".

Section ten of the Sixteen Point Decision established the guiding principle for educational reform during the Cultural Revolution. The transformation of all schools were to be directed by Mao's policy of "education serving proletarian politics and education being combined with productive labour". So, schooling was to be shortened, courses

were to be reduced in number and improved in quality, and teaching materials were to be thoroughly transformed. In addition to their school studies, students were also to learn industrial work, agricultural and military affairs. On June 13, 1966, the CCPCC and the State Council formally announced the decision to abolish the old system of entrance examinations for the enrollment of students in higher educational institutions.

As a result, students and teachers were all caught up in the activities of criticizing and eliminating revisionists and their ideas, and the schools were actually closed down after the summer vacation in 1966. Many went from the cities to the rural areas to participate in the "exchange of revolutionary experience". Behind all the frenzy and action, there was also confusion, destruction, vandalism and violence.

In January, 1967, the detailed plan of educational reform was drafted. The recommendations included abolition of all examination systems. New methods of enrollment of students for senior middle schools and institutions of higher education were to be based on the recommendation of other students for their outstanding moral, intellectual and political qualities. It was believed that it would then open the doors of higher education to the children of the workers, peasants and revolutionary cadres who had been deprived of the chance under the old system. There should be further shortening of the schooling cycle implementation of the half-work half-study system; military training in all schools should be provided. Special emphasis was to be placed on "the thought of Mao Tse-tung" in the curriculum; and it was also suggested that summer and winter vacations should be abolished to allow the students more time to participate in productive labour.

So, politics was in command again. The Central Committee had to issue an official call in February, 1967, urging teachers and students to return to their schools to make revolution and participate in the 'struggle-criticism-transformation'. Mao, in his 'March 7' 1967 Directive openly sought the help from the PLA to move in to fully implement and coordinate the "back-to-school" movement and announced the 'principle of three-way alliance' to set up committees consisting of students, teachers, workers and cadres to revise the curriculum.

During the Cultural Revolution, especially in the early phase, because of the part they had played in the old educational system, the teachers were subjected to intense criticism. Many were severely attacked both verbally and physically. The Revolutionary Committees of some communes 'remoulded' and 're-educated' their primary and middle-school teachers by requiring them to 'eat, live, labour, study and make criticism together with the poor and lower-middle class peasants'. Under the circumstances, out of fear, many teachers openly repudiated the idea of putting 'intellectual education first' or putting 'professional work in command'. Intellectuals and other 'academic authorities' also came under heavy attack. Yao Wen-yen, a Party leader, reinforced the statement that "as long as there is a group of intellectuals, whether it is a school or other units, workers and the liberation army must go in to break the domination of the intellectuals". Consequently, new proletarian personnel entered the schools and assumed leading roles in educational decision-making. These were known to be the 'worker-peasant-soldier' teams who seized control over all educational institutions and cultural establishments. In the initial stage of the Cultural Revolution, students and teachers moved to factories and rural communes, but in the later stage, the workers and peasants were

encouraged to enter schools to participate in the mass movement of 'struggle-criticism-transformation'. Mao's May 7 Directive (1966) indicated the new line of educational policy. The main objectives were to popularize locally established primary and secondary schools in order to save state educational expenditures, to destroy capitalist intellectuals' domination of the schools, to re-educate the intellectuals and to popularize education as well as to coordinate education, to enable the young people to develop the proper attitude toward productive labour and the proletarian viewpoint. Also, the 'May 7 Cadre Schools' were set up to implement Mao's directive that "sending the broad masses of cadres to lower levels for manual labour to give them a good opportunity to study anew".

The July 22 Directive (1968) was aimed at the intellectuals and students. It launched a new movement to reform higher education, to break the monopoly of the 'bourgeois intellectuals' and 'academic authorities' and to establish 'socialist universities', which combined education with production, implementing Mao's principle of uniting theory with practice.

During the Cultural Revolution, it was quite clear that the Party leadership as well as the supporters of Mao had taken the intellectuals as 'enemies' both in their viewpoint as well as in their stand. Firstly, they used the concept of the class to negate the status of the intellectuals assuming that most of the intellectuals from the old society came from non-working class families. Even those who came from working class families and had received capitalist education were thought to have an essentially capitalist outlook. Secondly, the Communists used the practical viewpoint to negate the kind of knowledge which the intellectuals had. They argued that the intellectuals acquired their

knowledge through book-learning. This kind of book-knowledge was divorced from the workers and the peasants, so when it was put together with the revolutionary practice, it became incomplete, useless and could not solve problems. These two negations made the intellectuals enemies of the Communist Party and to a large extent, the Cultural Revolution was "a disarmament of the intellectuals".

The Cultural Revolution ended before the commencement of the Ninth Party Congress of the CCP in April 1969. And it was followed by a period of the application of the principles of the "revolution in education", namely, "education must serve proletarian politics, serve the workers, peasants and soldiers and be combined with productive labour". The ending of the Cultural Revolution did not necessarily result in the elimination of the opposition and struggle between ideas, classes, the old and the new, among the people and within the Party itself.

Among the various problems which divided the leadership were conflicts between old and new cadres, and conflicts between the military and the civilians. The result was a sharp polarization between civilian and military leadership. Following the downfall of Lin Piao in 1971, the Party had gone to great lengths to reaffirm its authority over the PLA and the provincial organizations who had gained power since the Cultural Revolution. The military was advised to "learn from the revolutionary masses" instead. During the Anti-Lin Piao and Chen Pe-ta campaign in 1973, the Party again brought up the issue of 'ideological reform' - of remolding one's world outlook.

In terms of educational reform, accelerated effort had been put into the programme of popularizing or universalizing five-year primary

education in the rural areas, and where possible, it was suggested that seven-year universal education should be implemented through a system of diversified schools and classes. The notion of 'open-door' school policy at all levels was applied as a way to put into practice Mao's concept of serving the people, by selecting students from among the workers and peasants with practical experience. Schools continued to be operated by the masses, the 'workers-peasants-soldiers' teams, to ensure that the poor and lower-middle class peasants were in control of the rural schools and the 'three-in-one' teams took the key role in school operation in the urban areas. Party workers and Propaganda Team members entered schools to assure that the content, the teaching materials and teaching methods were compatible with the Party line.

It was not only the students who were in need of ideological transformation, but also the teachers; they were often sent "down to the countryside" or to Cadre Schools where they were tempered so that they would give up their bourgeois world outlook and gradually develop the proletarian world outlook. The teachers' status had always been a precarious subject in the Party policy of the 'red and expert' issue. They were still being criticized for their 'incorrect ideas...left over from the old society'.

As the principle of combining or uniting theory with practice became a major issue in the educational debate, the revolution in education became part of a planned effort to integrate theory with practice, to have the students and teachers participate in the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, to contribute to the gradual lessening of the differences between workers and peasants, between town and country, and between mental and manual work. It was part of the nationwide effort to

remould the world outlook of the entire society. The intellectuals could escape neither the responsibility of pushing forward the 'revolution in education' nor the blame for being the element which was obstructing the movement.

e. Renewal of the Debate on Red and Expert under Modernization
(since 1978)

The policies of the 'revolution in education' were openly criticized in the educational debate in 1975, which lasted for over two years. The main argument was that the 'open-door policy' of running schools had resulted in a general decline in the quality of university education. So, it was held then that unless academic standards were raised, it was impossible for China to attain the goal of becoming a modern industrial state by the end of the century. Like any previous situation, the criticisms were again taken in the light of "the struggle between the two classes, the two roads, and the two lines". So, by criticizing government policy, they were regarded as "negating the Cultural Revolution, the socialist new things, and the proletarian revolution in education". Instead of looking at the problem with the facts produced, nothing could be easier than labelling it as some 'absurdities' or 'right deviationist wind' which had been stirred up by the 'revisionists'. In order to get rid of the criticism, the people were called upon once again to "wage a tit-for-tat struggle against them".

With the death of Zhou Enlai on January 8, 1976, the appointment of Hua Guofeng (華國鋒) in April the same year as the First Vice-Chairman of the CCPCC and Premier of the State Council, and the dismissal of Deng Xiaoping (鄧小平) for his mistake in

placing the development of the national economy ahead of the class struggle, the Central Committee declared that the situation had turned into one of 'antagonistic contradiction' once again. The debate in academic circles over the revolution in education was naturally identified as dangerous to the future and destiny of Party and State, and it was therefore decreed that it should be stopped.

By 1978, after the death of Mao, followed by the downfall of the Gang of Four, the situation had changed again. The debate on red and expert was resumed. On April 20, 1978, the Renmin Ribao published an article on "Uphold the Correct Orientation of Being both Red and Expert", and the issue was given a very different interpretation from the period before when it was the dialectical relationship between red and expert.

The article quoted Mao to illustrate that he actually encouraged intellectuals to become both red and expert. For 'red', Mao would mean a firm and correct political orientation. So to become 'red', intellectuals were expected to steadily foster a proletarian world outlook and serve socialism, workers, peasants and the soldiers wholeheartedly. For 'expert', Mao would refer to the fact that intellectuals should study hard to become specialists in their own field, so as to contribute to the socialist cause of developing the forces of production. And the two ideas were basically united in their relationship, i.e. based on Mao's theory of the unity of opposites. Accordingly, a person who was prepared to devote himself to socialism would work harder to master his speciality, which in turn would make him better able to serve socialism. There was the same relationship between politics and professional work, but in this context, instead of substituting, weakening or liquidating professional work, politics

promoted and backed it up. Thus, it was not difficult to understand the "realistic approach to correct handling of this relationship", as clearly described in the article. Based on the recognition of the reality of "division of labour", which implied the need to set different requirements for different groups of people, and the recognition of the "difference in the nature of scientific-technical work and political work", the Party was prepared to accept that "scientific and technical workers should become specialists to strive for significant results for the four modernizations as long as they devote themselves to the socialist cause of science and advance it". They were then regarded as having achieved a unity of being red and expert.

The issue of political education, of remoulding ideology, was also mentioned. But it was an integration of the study of Marxism with professional practice which was being advocated, and not a separation of the two with one opposing the other. The function of acquiring political consciousness was to overcome infiltration of idealistic and metaphysical thinking, to correctly understand contradictions in the objective world, and to solve these contradictions - all to minimize the 'twists and turns' in the course of development. The intellectuals, especially the scientific and technical workers, were expected not to study or to participate in ideological remoulding, but to "acquaint themselves with the masses, to choose subjects of scientific research that are directly connected with industrial and agricultural production, to adopt the three-in-one combination of the leading cadres, the scientific and technical personnel and the worker-peasant masses".

This, however, has been the general direction for Party policies toward the intellectuals since the beginning of the period of modernization in

1978. The debate over the question of red and expert seemed to have acquired a level of integration rather than differentiation. If it were to be based on the theory of unity of opposites, the dialectical relationship between the two should yield to a synthesis. Given the social and economic situation in China at the present stage, the main question was whether China could afford a continuation of the struggle as it had been for the past thirty years, and furthermore, how realistic it was to turn a non-antagonistic contradiction into an antagonistic contradiction for the purpose of political struggle at the expense of ruining the nation's economic development and causing social disintegration.

3. Problem Analysis

The basic contradiction and conflict between the Chinese Communist Party and the intellectuals

The contradiction that existed between the thinking of the Chinese intellectuals and the policies of the Party is very substantial and profound. As long as the intellectuals continue to pursue the freedom of thinking and expression and to criticize the government, they will remain as a threat to the Party's ruling authority and at the same time their way of thinking will prevent the Communist ideology from taking root in Chinese society.

As early as 1956, Zhou Enlai in his Report on the "Question of the Intellectuals", had pointed out that there existed a certain kind of

barrier between the intellectuals and the Communist Party. The constitution of such a barrier was due to the negligence of Party workers in not making any effort to get close to the intellectuals. The only contacts they had with the intellectuals were restricted to rather formal conditions, such as assigning jobs, when intellectuals were asked to 'account for the past', or to 'confess after having made a mistake'. On the other hand, it was also due to the fact that intellectuals, especially the old intellectuals, were still very sceptical about the ideas of socialism, some even opposed it altogether. So, according to Zhou, throughout China in all enterprises, schools, the state bureaucracy, and in the society at large, there were intellectuals who were still enemies of the people as well as the Party; who were dissatisfied with the policies of the People's government; who rejected Marxism-Leninism; who despised labour and refused to cooperate with the workers and farmers; who resented the progressive elements and accused them of being opportunists; who also deliberately created argument and conflict with the Party and among themselves; who were arrogant and complacent and refused to take criticisms; who discarded the interests of the people and the society and acted according to their own opinion and for their own selfish interests. Though not all the intellectuals were like this, they might range in degree of their 'wrong viewpoints'; unless the intellectuals changed their standpoint, even if the Party workers tried to get close to them, the barrier would still be there.

The barrier is there and the conflict still exists. The basic contradiction as it has always been remains unresolved. It includes at least three very basic different viewpoints: firstly, the contradiction between individualism and collectivism; secondly, between the pragmatic

viewpoint and the political viewpoint; thirdly, between liberalism and Party dictatorship. As time went on, instead of resolving the contradiction in 'practice' through reconciliation, the continuous ideological reforms had deepened and sharpened the contradiction. As the editorial of the Guangming Ribao (20 March 1966) pointed out that not only the old intellectuals were stubborn, the young intellectuals too had been much 'contaminated' by the ideas of capitalism: they talked of Marxism, but they acted according to liberal ideas; they treated others with Marxism, but themselves with very liberal standards...there were two kinds of ideas, each serving a particular purpose. As a matter of fact, the young intellectuals had difficulty in understanding and sympathizing with the Party's ideology, so they had acted with the old intellectuals in opposing and resisting the Party authority.

It cannot be refuted that the development of the Communist economy and culture has been repeatedly obstructed by political movements and power struggles. It could not provide the young educated people with the opportunity for further education or job prospects, and therefore made the young intellectuals feel lost and disheartened. In addition, Party policy has been swinging from one end to the other, sometimes left, other times right, producing great confusion among the young intellectuals. Especially during the Cultural Revolution, under the influence of the ultra-leftists' ideas of 'rebellious against the old, the tradition', the young intellectuals acted so unrestrainedly that the Party had to issue a directive saying that some youngsters just could not distinguish the difference between socialist democracy and capitalist liberalism, and developed an inclination toward anarchism and extreme democracy. The difference between the thinking of the

intellectuals and the Communist ideology, the contradiction between the saying and behaviour of the intellectuals and the policies of the Party, are the fundamental elements of the debate on red and expert. It is not a question of whether to be red or expert, or more red than expert or vice versa, argument along this line would never resolve the problem, because this is not the real problem. The solution is to look at the basic contradiction between the intellectuals and the Communist Party, and resolve the ideological problem in terms of reconciliation and mutual accommodation through discussion.

In recent years, the Party has been trying again and again to redefine the status of the intellectuals as part of the process of summing up experiences of the Cultural Revolution. It has been estimated that in 1949, there were 3 million intellectuals and in 1980, it had increased to 25 million, 90% of which were trained in New China. And they include the professors, scientists, engineers, writers and artists, technicians and teachers, i.e. all mental workers with professional knowledge and skills. The Beijing Review of March 31 1980 classified the intellectuals into three groups, namely the intellectuals from the old society, who were employed by the capitalist class but have been re-educated and largely support socialism, intellectuals who embraced the revolutionary cause before 1949 and actually took part in socialist revolution, and then the intellectuals who were trained by the Party after 1949 and nurtured under proletarian socialist education. And most important of all, on ideological grounds, intellectuals should be included in the working class. This meant that intellectuals were to be given recognition.

A whole programme of rehabilitation has been implemented to raise the status of the intellectuals by promoting and restoring academic titles,

recognizing expertise as a contribution to the four modernizations, reassigning teachers to work according to their abilities, and conferring Party membership upon those who had previously been refused admission. Intellectuals, in general, have been given a substantial raise in wages and better living and working conditions. But would this completely solve the problem of the intellectuals as a group in a socialist society?

On one level, the problem of the intellectuals - i.e. as a group in a socialist society - means that on the one hand their skills are in great demand for rapid economic development, yet on the other, their background and education set them apart from the masses of people. Then there is a conflict between the demand of a modernizing economy for 'experts' and the requirement of a political ideology of equality. This is what has been overtly discussed both inside and outside China as the fundamental problem. But underlining this interpretation, there is yet another theoretical problem which has caused considerable anxiety among the Party members and leadership: it is the problem of power and privilege as related to the intellectuals. The demolition of the intellectuals' status in the society secures the rule of the Party which represents the people. The raising of the status of the intellectuals could mean ascribing to them authority over other groups in society, which could lead to the undermining of the authority of the Party. Unless the Party could resolve among themselves the issue of the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' and acknowledge the status of intellectuals, there will be another crisis, another excuse for the Party to revive the debate and to change policy towards the intellectuals. The issue of red and expert will continue to appear on the scene of China's socialist model.

PART THREE

A NEW SYNTHESIS
OF
CONTEMPORARY CHINESE IDEOLOGY

CHAPTER SEVEN : CULTURAL CONTINUITY AND IDENTITY

Since contact with the West in the 1860s, the China has been confronted with the problem of searching for a new national status which would enable her to participate equally in international relations. Politically, the Chinese Communist regime has established world recognition of the Chinese state. At the same time, it was the desire of the Chinese Communist Party to create a new society and a new culture for the people in China. In order to achieve this, the Chinese Communist Party adopted policies to criticize the past not only to secure power but also to get rid of the influence of the ruling elite in the old society. Based on their rationale for the argument against 'class culture', they labelled all that belonged to the past or the old culture as 'bourgeois poisonous weeds' so as to replace it with the 'culture which belongs to the working people'. The problem arises because in Chinese society, there has never been any distinctive polarization between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat which placed society in that kind of conflict. If there were any distinction in terms of 'classes' in Chinese society, they were the ruling gentry and the peasants; the Chinese social structure allowed a certain degree of social mobility through the civil examination system, through which a few peasants could become members of the gentry. So it was indeed very difficult to say which part of the culture belonged to the peasants and which part represented the interests and culture of the ruling or exploiting class. Cultural heritage represents the history and tradition of the Chinese people as a whole. It was unnatural if not impossible for the Chinese Communists to force such a distinction onto the people. The Chinese need a strong sense of history, of continuity

and U. belonging to support them in their search for their own inner identity. The past is the history and roots of the Chinese people, and only by acknowledging this fact can there be any positive development in Chinese culture and education.

A distinction between ideology and the intellectual tradition, especially in the system of Chinese thinking, has helped to clarify the rather 'problematic situation' of the establishment of the Chinese Communist ideology - the state doctrine which serves both to explain and justify the existing political order, on the one hand; and the persistence of the traditional system of Chinese thinking which determines the Chinese modes of philosophical enquiry and serves as sources of the Chinese moral and ethical principles, namely Confucianism, on the other. This part of the study attempts to offer certain suggestions about the direction Chinese thinking should follow in order to produce a synthesis for a 'new Chinese ideology' for the modernization and development of Chinese education.

In dealing with the problem of change and identity, the analysis is based on the fundamental assumption that genuine nationalism and a pride in the rich traditions of a particular civilization gives identity to the people and holds the society together. Therefore, it is necessary to point out that deliberate 'complete cut-off' from particular cultural traditions in pursuit of certain immediate economic goals or ultimate political aims can cause irretrievable harm to the development of that society and lead to the dangers of social disintegration and political instability.

The relationship of contemporary Chinese society with Chinese culture of the past has always been regarded as a fundamental problem

in the development of China towards modernization, and socialism. In the protean evolution of Chinese modernization, the problem had always been 'what to change' and 'how to change'. In the 1890s, it was informed by the idea of 'Chinese learning being the basic substance, western learning for the purpose of practical use'.¹ Practical use at that time was not so much introducing western ideas or scientific knowledge, but western military skills and weapons. The defeat of China in the fighting with the western powers that followed proved that the idea did not work. So, in the 1910s, the dominant opinion was 'a complete, total westernization'. The transplanting of foreign ideas created doubts and brought about resentment among the Chinese people, resulting in yet another failure. Then in 1949, the policy was 'first destroy, then reconstruct'. Old institutions, traditions and customs were to be totally abandoned and reconstruction was to be built on the basis of the new Chinese Communist ideology and the guidelines of "selecting from the old for the use of the present, the foreign for Chinese use". But the Cultural Revolution finally brought the process of Chinese modernization to a halt when all the old institutions and customs were condemned, and Party policy concentrated solely on the building of the new. The question of old and new has become very confusing, and it becomes more and more difficult to distinguish between them. The main concern lies not in defining what is old and what is new, but in understanding the old in relation to the new. There ought to be a kind of continuity between the present and the past to provide the fundamental link of development. And in order to bring about this understanding, the following questions have been asked and analysed in the previous Chapters:-

To what extent does Chinese Communist ideology prescribe actions and

patterns of behaviour which are so different from those of the traditional way based on the Confucian ethos (at least on the theoretical level)? Or are they similar? (Refer to Chapter 2.4 - A Comparison of the two models.) How far has the influence of the philosophy of Confucianism been sustained in present Chinese society in terms of the people's values, priorities and aspirations which are not conducive to the building of socialism in China?

Following this, it seems logical for the discussion to proceed to the next question: Is it realistic for the CCP leadership to believe that traditional Chinese thinking could be completely replaced by Marxism-Leninism and Mao Tse-tung thought? In the process of 'cultural reproduction', how can the traditional ways of thinking be incorporated into the Communist ideology to produce a new way of thinking? Or is it more feasible for the Communist ideology to be incorporated into the Chinese system of thinking to produce a kind of 'continuity' in the process of Chinese cultural development?

Before attempting to answer these questions, it is necessary to sum up briefly the general disposition of Chinese cultural development.

1. The Question of Chinese Culture and Its Value

As discussed in earlier chapters, the problem concerning Chinese cultural development had been revealed in the contact with the West, which began as early as the Opium War (1840) and the period of Taiping Rebellion (1851). Since the Taipings relied on the worship of God based on Christianity to summon their supporters,² their defeat in 1864 reflected the victory of a kind of Chinese spirit, as represented by

Tseng, Tso, Li and Wu.³ They knew that Chinese culture, lacking military strength and other skills to make the country rich and powerful, was in need of remedy and that it was important to learn from the West in these respects. Near the end of the Qing dynasty, the Chinese knew that unless there was some definite change in the government as well as the social system, China could not survive. Thus there was a movement toward constitutional monarchy and constitutional democracy: K'ang and Liang's⁴ constitutional monarchy movement could not satisfy the people's wish to overthrow the Manchu government, but Sun and Chiang's⁵ constitutional democracy succeeded and the Republic of China was founded in 1911.

With the abolition of the civil service examination in 1905, a school system was established, based especially in the early years of the Republic on the model of Japanese national military training. Then during the 'New Culture Movement', educators copied the model of American individualistic education, advocated the vernacular style to replace the literary style, and used the slogan of science and democracy to criticize the traditional culture, to 'knock down' Confucianism. They also promoted the liberation of women, freedom, the sanctity of manual labour and freedom of thought. They all claimed to 'ke-ming' (change the mandate) or to bring about a revolution of the Chinese traditional culture. The success of the Kuomintang in their conquest of the north was mainly due to their knocking down imperialism and warlordism. And their principle of the Three People's Principles of nationalism, democracy, and people's livelihood met the wish for national independence and democratic government which began with the May Fourth Movement.

Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles were originally an attempt to

include some aspects of modern Western political thought in Chinese thinking. However, the "Three Principles" was a system of political thinking and what it inherited from the Chinese culture was limited to the political and moral aspects. During the time of the Republic, the undercurrent of social and cultural thinking was to abandon the Chinese scholarly cultural spirit, and to worship new ideas from the West such as Marxism, which was welcomed by the young people. This particular trend of thinking - Marxism - came at a time when the Chinese were rejecting the invasion of Western imperialism and capitalism, and it coincided with the Chinese traditional thinking about equalizing the rich and the poor. In addition, after eight years of fighting against the Japanese, together with the corruption in national government bureaucracy, the whole nation was demoralized. So it paved the way for the victory of the Communists. The revolution of the Communists was not only political, it was also a thoroughly social cultural revolution. As the Communists considered past culture to be feudal, and the immediate past semi-feudal and semi-colonial so that it had to be totally abandoned, it could be said that the past hundred years of Chinese culture - at least on the surface - had undergone a certain degree of Westernization, primarily a conquest of the Chinese traditional culture.

The major questions arising from these phenomena are essentially interrelated. What is lacking in Chinese culture that made social reforms impossible under the challenge of modernization and Westernization? If China is to accept Western culture, is it necessary for Chinese traditional culture to be destroyed? Or should a new culture emerge from the interaction of the two cultures? And in the new stage of synthesis, upon what sort of framework should the new culture be

based? These questions have to be clarified for the Chinese to adjust themselves to change, and to the challenge of the modern world. Unless the people can identify themselves with the culture to which they belong, China will become a victim of the cultural borrowing that has burdened so many developing countries.

There are reasons why Western science, democracy and ideas of freedom failed to take root in Chinese society and why China failed to benefit from Western influence to bring about change in society. Generally speaking, the major mistake was in over-emphasizing the utilitarian aspects of Western culture. Each of the early reformers, in his own way, for his own particular purpose, took Westernization as a means of 'self-strengthening' the nation. For example, the Communist's idea of science is relating it to the needs of real life, using science for national construction. So, science and Western technology become desirable objects to be acquired. And failure to define the value of Western science and technology in the context of Western culture prevented the Chinese people from understanding and accepting Western culture as a whole.

In the West, there is a long tradition of focusing on the intellect and on a speculative, objective way of thinking. The concept of democracy and freedom, for example, is based on the recognition of man's rights, the independent nature of an individual's rights, and the absolute respect for the individual's character. However, in Chinese culture, speculative thinking or the desire to overcome nature is less prominent. Self-realization is manifested in a harmony of communication or interaction between man and man, and man and nature. Western democracy, which involved the formulation of parliamentary government with opposition parties and an independent legislative and administrative

system, contradicted traditional Chinese political thinking that people ought to trust the government, which assigned offices according to special ability for various posts. Struggle between political parties in China led to the disintegration of the Chinese society.

Since Chinese traditional thinking did not stress the need for an objective social system, it emphasized the essential need for self-fulfilment, self-existence, self-independence and self-attainment. There was no restriction on the individual in terms of religion or class. Thus, the principle of freedom propagated in the early 1920s became a symbol for the individual to rid himself of his familial duties, moral obligations and cultural interests. It shows that basically in Chinese society, there was a failure to recognize the particular object of struggle as well as the substantial content of the struggle. For example, the struggle for freedom in the West has a particular object and goal, and it usually springs from certain kinds of restriction and constraint. In turn, the struggle itself is restrained by its object and goals. Thus, the freedom allowed by law or legislation is actually a way of using the rational objective to limit or restrict an individual's own freedom. Instead of establishing an objective social spirit of freedom, the 'freedom movement' in China resulted in the destruction of traditional morality.

Many thought that the failure of the Chinese to devote their energy to the science and democratic liberal movements of the West was because of the passive influence of Chinese traditional culture. Some held that the main obstacle to Chinese modernization was its culture. Neither group recognized the value of a culture as the foundation of all social development. However, the basic weakness of Chinese culture lies in a fundamental assumption that all man's cultural and moral behaviour is

for the accomplishment of one's character, on which the prosperity of culture depends.

It is true that the value of a culture lies in its capacity to affect man's spirit, and not in its being an instrument for utilitarian activity. However, in the process of perfecting one's character, the spirit of man should manifest itself through the development of scientific knowledge, technological advancement, productive skills and social organization; as in art, literature, philosophy and religion, they each provide a platform for man to express freely his subjective ideas while relating himself to the absolute spirit of the cosmos.

Confucianism contains the process of viewing the 'will of heaven' in man's nature, and establishing the way of man from the way of heaven. Neo-Confucianism reverses the process and proceeds from man's nature and man's way to find the way of heaven.⁶ Since the way of heaven is absolute, the way of man is subjective, the objective is lacking, and in Chinese history it was manifested in politics only. The union of the three aspects, the absolute, the subjective spirit of man, and its objective manifestation will provide a framework for further development of Chinese thinking.

The Chinese desire to realize one's nature consciously contrasts with the Western concentration on conscious expression. Conscious realization refers to the existence of the ideal inside man. Then, relying on the natural forces of life, the consciousness is realized in all aspects of life. However, conscious manifestation requires the existence (whether imaginary or concrete) of a transcendental ideal and the devotion of the individual to search for this ideal as an extension of the objective cultural world and not directly

for the nourishment of man's spirit through culture.⁷ Chinese cultural development has to advance from its conscious realization of the spirit to conscious manifestation, based on the inner nature of a total cultural ideal. While promoting a new set of socialist ideals, the Chinese Communist ideologists stress the outward manifestation and tend to ignore the need to search for objective ideals. The result is a tendency to hold on to one kind of objective ideal for self-manifestation, using society as the place for its realization and disregarding the need for an objective social spirit.

Confucianism has played a historical role in binding Chinese society into a cohesive unity and also a modern role of ensuring survival and continuity of Chinese civilization in the face of foreign penetration and cultural, economic and military encroachment. It has been the dominant orthodox ideology of the Chinese people to strongly emphasize moral values over material achievement, contentment with the status quo, disdain for profit, discipline and curbing of desires. In a way, they could become formidable obstacles to vigorous economic development by providing a kind of moral aphorism which could suppress any mounting antagonism. On the other hand, it bears certain similarities to that of the prescription of the Communist ideology in aspects of stressing practice, encouraging the spirit of serving the people rather than single-minded profit-making, and restraining the desire for a better life within the framework of the social and economic situation. Most of the characteristics of the Chinese people are still deeply rooted in the Confucian ethos, such as dedication to one's endeavour, painstaking down-to-earth approaches, integrity in learning and business, family affinity, respect for the senior, and love and

care for the junior, assuming responsibility for one's friends, relatives, colleagues, compatriots and family, optimism in working hard, enduring life as it is, taking nothing for granted at the outset.

Ever since the adoption of the modernization policies, there have been signs of social disintegration or degeneration. There were reports of a high degree of commercial corruption, increase in crime, lower standards of public behaviour, intensified competitiveness for individual and group gain, turning away from social involvement and towards family and vocation, a rapid growth in consumerism and a great deal of cynicism devoid of political belief and conviction. All these can lead to a general atmosphere of strained social relations.

The Wujiang Simei Campaign (The Five Emphases and Four Beautifuls Campaign) was launched in 1981 and is still being strongly promoted to restore certain values and morals that are being defined as constituting a socialist culture necessary to China's modernizing drive. The five emphases are on morality, public order, cleanliness, politeness and culture; and the four 'beautifuls' are the beauty of the environment, conduct, speech and the soul. Students in school are encouraged to study hard, to aim high, to take care of public property, and to acquire polite, courteous and decorous behaviour.

The implication of this campaign is very significant, in that it does reflect the similarity of Confucian and Communist ethical and aesthetic values. It paves the way for a possible intermingling of these two mainstreams of thinking for a joint goal. This should point the way for a philosophical synthesis and political integration in China's future development.

2. The Question of Modernization and the Impact of Modernity

Modernization is related to a number of ideas, such as development, industrialization and Westernization. And to be 'modern' implies certain characteristics of modernity. Alex Inkeles⁸ listed them as a disposition to accept new ideas and try new methods, a readiness to express opinions, a greater interest in the future than in the past, a greater sense of punctuality, a concern for planning, organization, and efficiency, a faith in science and technology, a belief in distributive justice, a respect for the dignity of women and children.

However, modernization in China is seen largely in terms of economic change. Social changes (like those listed by Inkeles) have definitely been rejected. The Chinese have always resisted some aspects of Western cultural influence, though not its skills and tools. So, they draw a clear distinction between modernization and Westernization; within certain limits the former is acceptable, but the latter is not. Opposition to 'capitalism', hostility towards 'imperialism' or the so-called 'capitalist roaders' suggests the strong reluctance of the Chinese to follow Western styles. The old argument of 'retaining Chinese learning as the substance (ti) and using Western learning for practical purposes (yong)'⁹ became the principle of 'making foreign things serve China' of the present leadership. Both indicate the concern of the Chinese to preserve a Chinese essence while adopting Western methods.

China is not prepared to accept the 'by-products' of economic modernization. Many writers have developed the assumption that modernization must have important social, cultural, psychological and most of all political implications. S.N. Eisenstadt¹⁰ considered that the process

of modernization included industrialization, educational, economic and rural development. Wilbert Moore¹¹ has defined modernization as becoming a member of the common pool of world knowledge, useful techniques and sacrificing time-oriented customs for real benefits. It involves the adoption of modern procedures in administration and organization, mass communication, public health, education and occupational planning, city transportation and village organization.

John H. Kautsky¹² held that modernization refers to certain "post-traditional social and economic antecedents of industrialization of the social and economic consequences of industrialization of both". David Apter¹³ further distinguished the terms of development, industrialization and modernization. Development, as he defined it, only results from the proliferation and integration of functional roles in a community, whereas modernization requires a social system that can constantly innovate, a differentiated and flexible social structure and a social framework which provides skills and knowledge necessary for living in a technologically advanced world. Industrialization, therefore, is only a special aspect of modernization. For both Lerner¹⁴ and Smelser¹⁵, modernization is either a 'social process' or it refers to the 'social changes' that accompany economic development.

If modernization, as defined by the above writers, were to spread into the social and political sectors of Chinese society, certain changes could be postulated. Passionate ideological attachments would give way to a secularization process for new theories to explain the phenomena. People would demand more rationality in Party decisions and policies. Eventually, ideological credentials would be replaced by a criterion of achievement for State and Party positions. Though it is doubtful as to whether the CCP is prepared to accept these changes, the present

leadership has endorsed the continuation of the 'Four Modernizations'.

In December 1964, Zhou Enlai first advocated the pursuit of the 'Four Modernizations' in industry, agriculture, defence and science and technology.¹⁶ He argued in favour of foreign trade and technology to improve economic performance. Before 1976, 'modernization' was attacked, especially by the Gang of Four who used it as a political weapon to criticize their opposition to the desire to restore capitalism.¹⁷ However, in August 1977, after the rehabilitation of Deng Xiaoping, Hua Guofeng advocated modernization in the four conventional forms.¹⁸

Other than the modernization of agriculture, industry and national defence, the modernization of science and technology bears direct relevance to education.¹⁹ In 1978, Fang Yi, the then Vice-Premier and head of the Academy of Sciences, announced that China would attempt to quadruple the then number of professional workers by 1985.²⁰ Based on an OECD survey in 1977, it was estimated that there were 335,000 scientists and 725,000 engineers and technologists. Only 0.1 per cent of the population had a tolerably 'modern' scientific training.²¹

The urgency to train qualified personnel to participate in production has a direct effect on the Party's policy toward the issues of popularization and elevation, unity of theory and practice and, above all, the case of red and expert.

The National Science Conference held in March 1977 in Beijing resulted in an official statement given in September stating that a scientist would spend no more than one-sixth of his time on 'political' work. The red and expert controversy seemed to have settled with the lessening of the Party's emphasis on 'politics'. However, neither the

Maoists nor the non-Maoists are in favour of free academic enquiry, so pure science and pure scientific research would be unacceptable. In 1952, Chen Pota, then Vice-President of the Academy of Science stated clearly that 'research work must serve definite purposes and lead to the solution of important problems of a mass character'.²²

There is no doubt that many difficulties lay in the way for Chinese modernization to advance and to achieve its desired goals. Technology does not mean only machines, it involves certain managerial attitudes and modes of practice. So in the the course of China's economic development, she will have to adopt both the technologies and institutions of the 'advanced countries', which include a wide range of changes in the forms of organization in industry and commerce, in government as well as in education.

Technologies and institutions are mutually interdependent; technical and cultural changes are a process of organic growth. Each develops alongside the other for its support and control. Invitation of foreign investments means importing foreign managerial style. For example, the banking and credit systems would have to be updated. There would be a great demand for well-trained personnel to participate in expanding production industry; the education system, as a result, would have to be adjusted to meet the demand. Under these circumstances, it might become necessary for the leadership to re-emphasize the dominance of the centre over the provinces. The 'educated' would have an advantage over the others in their capacity to contribute to the building of a modern economy. So education would have to lose its ideological and political content and become more oriented toward skill-training and preparing for jobs. Of course, there is also the danger of

education being geared only to the qualifications needed for a modern job; thereby giving the advantage to the urban commercial sector.

Since the growth of industry and commerce provides a new set of social relations within which new roles can be played, both men and women participate in the production process and join to form a labour force which is socially and occupationally mobile. So, instead of a customarily closed community based on family, kinship, age, sex or religion, the new environment asks for a set of criteria which is based more on skill, experience, aptitude and long service, and which would eventually lead to the development of a new and different hierarchy and social pattern.

Modernizing education requires a shift in the emphasis on subjects that are relevant to the programmes of modernizing industry and commerce. There would be a clear preference for science and technical studies to social and political studies. This new scientific approach does not necessarily mean refuting past traditions. Advanced education might lead to a questioning of ultimate values; perhaps there will be a greater demand for a refining process in defining the traditional values within the new context of modern democracy, progress, freedom and science. Indeed, introduction of science and scientific attitudes might contribute to promoting productivity and raising living standards. It also has the effect of acting as a strong solvent of customary values and traditional order, and it could challenge the customary beliefs and practices of the people.

It is true that widespread development makes it impossible for the educational system to adapt itself effectively to national needs. So, to encourage young people to study hard and aim high is one thing,

whether there are opportunities available corresponding to these new aspirations is another. Apparently, economic development in the present form appears to have widened the gap between the city and the country, between the urban workers and the peasants. Uncontrolled economic growth is a strain to social cohesion. Industrialization, if left alone to develop itself can lead to social disintegration.

Modernization brings about changes in the social and physical environment. It inevitably affects life styles and human interaction patterns, especially in attitudinal and behavioural orientations. Basically, there is a need for greater independence, more receptivity to change, achievement-orientation, materialist and individualistic approaches and a certain degree of impersonality. Of course, it could also mean more alienation and segregation, a lack of a strong sense of community identity, a change in the role of the individual in becoming more specific, and even a change in family relationships.

In 1979, Ye Jiangying (葉劍英), the then Vice-Chairman of the CCP, restated the direction of Chinese modernization as:

We mean the four major aspects...not that modernization is confined to the four aspects. Along with the reform and improvement of the socialist economic system, we will reform and improve the socialist political system, and develop an advanced socialist democracy and a complete socialist legal system.²³

This is an indication by the leadership of their awareness of the inevitable changes that are required by the process of modernization. Modernization has been used as a political instrument to mobilize the support of the people and to justify the new Party policies in the post-Mao period. The Party has to be prepared also for the adaptations that are needed in its political, social and educational organizations.

Where more centralised planning would bring about reforms in the managerial level and in community development to facilitate the application of foreign technology (in terms of even distribution of equipment), greater mobility would be demanded in line with the need for innovation. It is anticipated that a certain degree of bureaucracy would be reinforced. The right balance between local initiative and flexibility in central planning and control has to be obtained. The cadre system might have to be reformed to rid itself of its autocratic methods of exercising authority, and a new generation of scientists would have to be trained. Man's capacity to organize society is as important as technological advancements.

With all these anticipated difficulties and changes which modernization is likely to cause, it is true that the traditional patterns of thought and behaviour will also have to be changed. But it is important for the leadership to recognize them as different from 'ideological' problems, therefore preventing them from becoming another excuse for a power struggle. Certainly, in this period of modernization, the educational debates on popularization and elevation, theory and practice, red and expert, will have to be resolved in the process of national development. The extent to which Chinese education can develop will depend largely on how well the Chinese society is adapting itself to the challenge of modernity.

CHAPTER EIGHT :

THE ROLE OF EDUCATION IN THE NEW LONG MARCH

1. An Evaluation of Chinese Educational Development

"The Resolution of Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the Sixth Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee of the CPC¹ was an attempt to give 'authoritative answers' to questions of assessing the history of the Communist Party since the founding of the PRC the Cultural Revolution from 1966 to 1976, Mao Zedong's historical role and his thoughts, as well as the achievements of the country. If the resolution was to affirm the road that China had been taking in its socialist modernization, then it also pointed out the new orientation of its cause of socialism and the Party's future work.

While the outcome of the years of historical development preceding the founding of the PRC was regarded as inevitable, the CCPCC was unmistakably the central leading force, with Mao as the great leader. Mao Zedong Thought was reiterated as the guiding ideology of the Party, though it had been emphasized that it was the product of the 'collective struggle of the Party and the people'. However, the past thirty-two years were regarded as having achieved a successful socialist construction - it was claimed that considerable progress had been made in education, culture, public health and physical culture. It was quoted that in 1980, enrollment in the various kinds of full-time schools totalled 204 million, 3.7 times the number in 1952. And since 1949, the institutions of higher education and vocational schools have turned out nearly 9 million graduates with specialized knowledge or skills.

However, the Cultural Revolution was condemned as being responsible for the most severe setbacks and the heaviest losses suffered by the Party. Mao's principal thesis, that many representatives of the bourgeoisie and counter-revolutionary revisionists had reasserted themselves and acquired power, was considered as entirely erroneous. There were no grounds for defining the Cultural Revolution as 'a struggle against the revisionist line or the capitalist road'. This, however, led to the confusion of right and wrong, the people and the enemy, resulting in social disorder and retrogression. Mao's mistake in leadership was obvious, but they also recognized that there were also other 'complex social and historical causes' underlying the cultural revolution which had made it last for as long as a decade.

The document seems to reflect the interpretation of the majority within the Party of the path of China's socialist construction. For the first time, the scientific works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were being criticized. Although Marxism and Leninism had served as a guide to action, they could be quite irrelevant to the problems the Chinese encountered in their development, since they represented subjective thinking and practice which was divorced from reality. The main error committed was in broadening the scope of class struggle as an act in defence of Marxism. It was claimed that all ideological differences inside the Party were mere reflections of class struggle in society. Differences of opinion came to be regarded as manifestations of the revisionist line or the struggle between the two lines. Secondly, there was a steady weakening of the principle of collective leadership and democratic centralism in Party and national politics. Failure to institutionalize and legalize inner-Party democracy, and democracy in the political and social life of the people, enabled the development of

concentration of Party power in individuals, arbitrary rule and personality cult in the Party.

So, since the Third Plenary Session of the Eleventh Central Committee, in December 1978, there had been determination to correct 'conscientiously and comprehensively the Left errors of the Cultural Revolution and earlier'. While affirming the grasping of Mao's thoughts as a scientific system with regard to the criterion of truth based on fact, the Party decided to shift their focus of work from class struggle which they considered as becoming unsuitable in a socialist society, to socialist modernization. In terms of adjusting the imbalances between the major branches of the economy, accelerating agricultural development, strengthening socialist democracy and the socialist legal system, etc., according to them, the Party had finally re-established the "correct line of Marxism, ideologically, politically and organizationally".

The gap between the growing material and cultural needs of the people and the backwardness of social production has been named as the principal contradiction, and it has to be resolved through socialist modernization centering on economic construction and the immense expansion of the productive forces. Class struggle has become more or less insignificant; there might be diverse social contradictions which are not objects of class struggle, so they require other methods to resolve them, with social stability and unity as the fundamental concerns.

As far as education is concerned, its status is to be raised, and its role to be expanded. The role of the intellectuals in developing socialist culture is recognised. The following objectives have also been spelled out clearly as a guideline for the development of education in the drive for modernization:

Ideological and political work must be strengthened to educate the people in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality; the basic educational policy is still for an all-round development morally, intellectually and physically, for being both red and expert, for integration of the intellectuals with the workers and peasants, and for the combination of mental and physical labour; the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology, feudal ideology, petty-bourgeois ideology are to be curbed; instead patriotism and the spirit of selfless devotion to modernization is to be fostered.²

In all attempts to reform education, there is always the implication of an undesirable situation from which new measures are to be initiated to improve the situation. During the Cultural Revolution, educational reforms were adopted to right the wrong of the previous educational policies; so were the new educational policies adopted after the death of Mao. But the essence of the shift is to raise the quality of education which is different from the Cultural Revolution policy of aiming at preventing the upsurge of social class in the pursuit of a lasting equal society. But the basic contradiction in education remains: the conflict between maintaining the quality of education and social equality. So often when social equality was to be achieved, the quality of education had to suffer; on the other hand, when resources were concentrated on improving the quality of education, social equality could not be provided. The struggle between the two became the characteristic of Chinese educational development over the past thirty years.

Since there is no substantive way to resolve this contradiction, the major question becomes a matter of priority. Which is the more important thing to be done in terms of Chinese national development? Since the founding of the PRC was based on the creation of a 'classless, unexploitative society', so equality should be of paramount importance. However, when the survival of a society is at stake, will equality still be the key concern? Quality in education and the survival of a society do not seem to be related.

But history has illustrated that survival of a society is not only affected by external causes but also internal factors: the Cultural Revolution has cost China 'ten years' of steady development, leaving the national economy on the verge of collapse. So, in order to put the country's economy back on the right course of development, they needed to educate skillful personnel and raise the quality of education. Yet, the fundamental concern for creating an egalitarian society could not be ignored.

Some suggested that this particular contradiction was universal and could not be resolved. So they should be left to adjust to each other in the process of practice, through trial and error. Others claimed that, each time, a reverse in Chinese educational policy would bring it closer to the final conciliation of the two opposites. In other words, this is to say that it is part of history for Chinese educational development to go through such protean changes, and nothing can be done to improve the situation. The resolution of the so-called contradiction does not lie in the process of practice, nor can priority explain it. In order to understand the cause of this undesirable phenomenon, it is necessary to find out why, in the first place, educational quality was low, and in which way society was unequal.

- Furthermore, against what is educational quality being measured, and in terms of what is an equal society being perceived?

The basic contradiction between quality and equality has been given a political meaning throughout the past thirty years of educational development. Among the leadership in the Central Committee, Mao and his supporters had always regarded the establishment of an egalitarian society as the first priority. To them, this was the only way of preventing the revival of classes in society. But the pragmatists, led

by Liu and Deng considered the raising of educational standards and promoting production as their guiding principle. Since they differed in their objectives, of course there were different emphases in their proposed policy. The existing historical conditions did not make the situation any easier; instead, they forced the leadership to choose between the two.

During the Cultural Revolution, the educational policy stressed political consciousness and devalued academic achievement. Such a notion came from the belief that if examinations and grades were the only criteria for admission to higher education, then the children of workers and peasants would be excluded from the universities. It was claimed that learning ability was closely related to the family background of the pupils. Certain studies proved that the higher the social and economic background of the students, the better they were in academic achievement, since the better-off families could provide a more favourable environment in which their children could learn. So the process of equal competition, which was initially intended for promoting social mobility to enable more young people to receive higher education, becomes instead the instrument of perpetuating social inequality. The essence of the revolutionary change in the Cultural Revolution was to break up this vicious circle by making it possible for children from poor families to enter university. This was to be achieved by raising the importance of political consciousness and diminishing academic excellence as the sole criterion for selection to enter the institutions of higher education.

Educational reforms were then initiated. First, politics was in command, intellectual education was to be suppressed. It followed that class struggle became the most important part of the content of the

curriculum. Both the examination system and the criteria for selection were changed to open-book examination and the unifying examination was abolished. Admission to secondary school was based on a quota system and entry to university depended on recommendation by the working unit and the approval of the leadership. The selection criteria were family background first and study record second. After that, emphasis was on practical knowledge, as superior to theoretical knowledge, so learning by doing was much encouraged. And the 'open-door schooling' policy was advocated.

The original attempt to increase the opportunity for children of the workers and peasants to succeed in schools and therefore gain access to higher education was realistic and progressive. But when it was given the political meaning of class struggle, it became an issue of power politics, thus, turning a reform situation to the antagonistic situation of an intense struggle. In the end, the boundary between learning and working became confused. Instead of a diversified system of education (mainly the double-track system of full-time schooling combined with a system of part-work part-study) which was abolished, the schooling system was shortened: primary school was reduced from six years to five; secondary school, from six years to four; and university too, from the usual four years to two or three. Later, the Mao Zedong Thought Propaganda Teams moved into the schools and helped to organize the revolutionary committees to run schools, with workers, peasants and cadres as leaders in the educational reform. The reforms introduced were many, but the consequences were drastic.

The emphasis on respect of labour, and participation in manual work were the slogans used during the Cultural Revolution. At least one-third of the school time was devoted to manual work or participation in

productive labour. It was obvious that mental labour was ignored deliberately, and theoretical knowledge was depreciated.

Although behind the policy lay the persistent attempt to prevent the upsurge of the social classes, participation in productive labour surely would enable the mental workers to understand the nature of labour, and to respect it. The intention was noble and highly justified, but the problem remained: too much manual labour did disrupted the progress of classroom teachers and learning; and if too little, manual labour became a mere symbolic gesture.

Emphasis on practical knowledge was closely related to Mao's theory of knowledge. But it also guaranteed the children of the workers and peasants of a chance to enter the higher educational institutions. They might not be familiar with abstract reasoning, but they were accustomed to solving practical problems. But whenever the pragmatists pointed out the importance of maintaining standards of education, they were attacked by Mao and his supporters for "setting two standards in education for different classes". In the end, the call for a more balanced policy of educational development was pushed aside for another power struggle.

- The policy of designated key-point schools was abolished during the Cultural Revolution. Inside schools, the practice of streaming according to students' performance was also abolished. The argument behind this was again the issue of equality for all. Since streaming or tracking had long been associated with social differentiation, based on the so-called self-fulfilling theory, students tended to behave and perform according to the kind of expectation the teachers had for them. The argument for streaming and destreaming is still an issue for debate

in Western societies. The trend of modern development does point toward the preference of destreaming in the belief that this would fully enable each student to develop his ability. However, in China, the Cultural Revolution craze quickly revealed the setbacks of the ideal of destreaming. Great variations in standard among students within the the same class made teaching very difficult. Not only did the students find it hard to cope, teachers who were not trained to deal with the various needs of the students suffered as well. At least, in the particular circumstances of China, from the pedagogical point of view, streaming according to students' performance could enhance the processes of both teaching and learning.

Shortening of the period of schooling might be favourable to the popular masses who prefer to stay in school for as short a period as possible. But there had been a high rate of drop-outs among the children of workers and peasants throughout their years at school. However, shortening the school year might help to diminish social inequality, it was at the expense of forsaking the quality of education, i.e. the standard of education provided and achieved.

When education for the masses became education by the masses, it created problems. Distrust of the intellectuals was the underlying cause for transferring the responsibility of running schools from the professionals to the non-professionals. Participation by the masses in educational affairs could be a way of ensuring democracy. But interruption in the running of schools could obstruct the process of schooling, especially when the masses were unfamiliar with the knowledge and skills involved. It was not unreasonable to relate the decline in educational standards with the administration of schools by workers and peasants. When society can produce a working class

intellegentsia, the conflict of red and expert will dissolve itself. Social equality and educational standards remain as an issue to be adjusted. The four modernizations led by Deng Xiaoping in 1978 was an attempt to remedy the 'ten years of political interference' in China's national development. Though the main objective of the reforms was claimed to mobilize the education sector so as to catch up in science and technology for modernization, it also implied the changing of Party policy toward raising standards, concentrating on theory and emphasizing proficiency.

2. Modernization and Educational Development

The fundamental role of education in national development is to foster economic, political, social and cultural growth and advancement. Thus, a change in the priorities of national development would inevitably lead to a change in educational policy. For example, from 1966-76, education was for a "relatively low level of general technological development in a self-contained, self-sufficient China dominated by socialist egalitarianism". In 1977, it shifted to develop China into a modern, industrial, socialist nation, and there were significant changes in restructuring the purposes and goals of education.

Based on the document of November 1977, "A Major Polemic on the Educational Front - Criticizing the Two Evaluations concocted by the Gang of Four",³ the rationale for the revival of the educational practices before the Cultural Revolution was stated. The two evaluations of the Gang of Four were censure; they included the educational practices adopted during the period from 1949-66, and the

ideological incrimination of the intellectuals as being elitist, bourgeois or capitalist roaders. The attack on the policies promulgated by the Gang of Four paved the way for a reorientation of education to different goals, and therefore, different policies.

Hua Quofeng spoke at the National Science Conference on "Raise the Scientific and Cultural Level of the Entire Chinese Nation", in March 1978.⁴ While repeating the official principle of carrying out the tasks of achieving the national goals of continuing the revolution, promoting the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment, and achieving the four modernizations, he went on defining the role of education as to train from among the young people scientific and technical personnel who were "both red and expert".

Politics is the commander, the soul in everything; it won't do not to grasp political and ideological work, but neither will do if we concern ourselves solely with politics and remain laymen, without any knowledge of technical and professional work.

The main concern was to achieve a balance between the needs of modernization and the drive to maintain and promote Chinese socialism. Therefore, equal emphasis had to be placed upon politics, technology and science. Deng Xiaoping in his Speech at the National Educational Work Conference,⁵ which was held in April, 1978, spelled out more clearly the Chinese leadership's perception of the role of education in the period of national modernization.

In his speech, Deng carefully acknowledged the foundation of adopting the principle set forth by Mao in 1958. The crux of educational work, under new historical conditions, was to implement Mao's principles that:

Education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour.

The general tasks of education were laid down in the Constitution adopted by the Congress on March 5, 1978, as: to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to carry forward the three great revolutionary struggles and to build up a modern socialist China in accordance with the base line of the CCP. (Refer to Chapter 1, Articles 12, 13 and 14 respectively, for the specific tasks of science, education, ideology and culture.) However, he made a clear distinction between the long-term goal and the immediate need. He explained that, while the long-term aim of education was to enable everyone to develop morally, intellectually and physically, and become a worker with socialist consciousness and culture, the immediate task of education was to "train a large contingent of working-class intellectuals and to greatly raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation".

So, he reckoned that the main objectives of the new role of education were: firstly, to improve the quality of education by raising the level of teaching through a firm and correct political orientation to learn and study and to criticize the bourgeoisie, adopting a revolutionary work style, strengthening advanced scientific knowledge, and implementing an effective examination system; secondly, to strengthen revolutionary order and discipline by fostering revolutionary ideals and communist morals, recognizing the disparity in ability and individual effort, therefore, justifying the adoption of the achievement-criteria method; thirdly, to train qualified personnel to meet with the requirements of national economic development by mapping out what and how productive labour and scientific research could be

integrated into the school curriculum, incorporating educational development with the national economic plan in manpower training and strengthening the key-point school system at all levels; fourthly, to recognize the significant role of the teachers and to raise their level of teaching by first of all raising their political status through admission of members of the teaching profession into the Party, then raising their social status through schemes to improve their wage scale and welfare; introducing a system of commendation and reward to raise morale, and lastly setting up in-service training programmes to improve their professional standards.

While advocating a revolutionary spirit of "dare to think and to speak", based on the principle of mass-line and socialist democracy, Deng stressed on the significance of cultivating a practical, down-to-earth revolutionary style of work. His aim was to promote development of both arts and sciences and to bring about a flourishing socialist culture by adopting the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom, a hundred schools of thought contend". In relation to the issue of the relationship between politics and study, he clarified that:

Politics is important, but does not mean devoting many classroom hours to ideological and political education... the higher their political consciousness, the harder the efforts and the greater the voluntary efforts the student should make to learn science and culture for the revolution.

At the same Conference, Liu Xiyao outlined the programmes for national education from 1978 to 1985⁶ based on the four guidelines for reinstatement of principles and aims: reorganization of education based on the principle of "walking on two legs", revision of educational content based on a programme to modernize the teaching media, and concentration on the development of higher education to raise quality and train qualified persons.

The necessary measures for implementing the new policies were summarized as restoring the examination system, expanding the provision of schools, setting up the key-point school systems, developing a new curriculum, having more centralized control in educational administration, reinforcing the professionalization of teaching and expanding higher education.

Enrollment examinations for higher education, suspended since 1974, were to be resumed in order to enroll the best students, to improve quality of research and education and to advance the four modernizations. Examinations were seen as necessary to ensure an adequate supply of sufficiently well-trained personnel, they offered a fair and equal chance for all and terminated the tendency of students getting into the universities by the 'back-door' method; examinations provided a motivation for the students to study and work hard, a clear set of criteria for the teachers to select material and design the school curricula, and also a revival of the traditional mode of authority, resulting in enhancement of the status of the teachers.

The aim of education was to set up a multiplicity of schools at every level. A double-track system of schools was to be founded: both full-time and part-time schooling, both academic and vocational or technical, both for the masses and for those specially talented. Equal emphasis was to be given to the expansion of regular primary and secondary education both in urban and in rural areas. The full-time day school system was to work side by side with the part-work part-study school system and the system of spare-time education. The aim was to build up a complete vocational technical education system, with all sectors in society to help to run schools of different types; professional and technical subjects were added to the curricula, and the senior middle

schools would gradually change into vocational schools. A labour recruitment system had to be formulated to cater for graduates from vocational and technical schools by offering them apprenticeship.

The key-point school system was supposed to be a restorative policy to remedy the undesirable outcomes of the Cultural Revolution. This was reinstated so as not to create elitism, nor was it a long-term policy. The rationale was to create centres of excellence out of expediency. China was short of resources in terms of finance, staff and equipment, the 'key-point' schools, especially the universities, were models for the others to follow, as they were given the advantages of more resources allocation and better staff, and therefore attracted better students. By 1980, according to official sources, 89 out of 636 universities and colleges were designated as the 'key-point' institutions. The lower local units were responsible for designating key-point middle schools and primary schools in their area.

Since the enrollment examination was to be standardized at the national level, a standard curriculum for schools of a ten-year span was required to meet with the requirement of the national examination. The Ministry of Education was responsible for the preparation of textbooks and other teaching material for both primary and secondary schools based on the guideline that they should "reflect the demands of the scientific and technological progress in science education". The content of the 10-year curriculum was reoriented to teach basic theory; combining education with productive labour was being reinterpreted in terms of the continuation of the "open-door schooling" policy. Efforts were made to integrate manual labour with the study programme and to prevent, as far as possible, its participation from interfering with students' academic progress. According to the scheme

suggested in 1977, the third, fourth and fifth grades of primary school students were expected to participate for four weeks in the year in manual labour, those in the middle schools were to spend six to eight weeks a year in productive labour, and four weeks for the university students in work related to the field of study.

More centralized control in administration was adopted to root out the influence of the Gang of Four from schools. In order to eliminate and reduce the power of local political control over schools exercised by the irregular worker-peasant-soldier groups, central government had taken more control over national and provincial educational administration by establishing a straight line of authority from the Ministry to the teachers as professional administrators.

Since the role of teachers was redefined as to teach, to communicate the subject matter in a thorough and effective way, and to exercise their traditional paternalistic concern for students' welfare and progress, the new policies toward the teachers were to assure them of relative freedom from political interference, to recognize them for their outstanding professional work through a reward and grade system, to increase their pay, to give them more stable working conditions, and to restore to them the status and prestige as equal workers.

In practice, a 5:6 formula was adopted in order to regulate the teacher's working time, so that 5/6 of his time was devoted to professional work and the remaining 1/6 of his time to political and ideological work. No political meetings were to be held during regular working hours. There had been increased use of status rewards as marks of recognition; at the university level, there was the restoration of academic titles; at the lower levels in the secondary and primary

schools, the promotion to "special rank teachers" was introduced to recognize outstanding contributions. An eleven-grade pay scale was also introduced based on teaching proficiency and attitude towards work and political performance. Teachers were being transferred back to teaching from other jobs in production to which they had been assigned during and after the Cultural Revolution. Successful use of schools in the drive for modernization depended upon an adequate supply of well-trained teachers. So in October, 1977, the 11th Party Congress passed a resolution that large-scale in-service training and teacher education programmes were to be promoted. By 1978 April, at least 25 new teacher training institutes had been established. Correspondence courses, television and radio in-service courses, and short-term schools were organized to upgrade teachers on the job both in urban and in rural areas.

Basically there was to be a great increase in enrollment in institutions of higher learning. A variety of higher institutions were to be established: such as the 4-5 year ordinary universities, 2-3 year technical colleges and special professional institutes. Institutions of lower standard like the Communist worker universities, "July 21" workers colleges, "May 7" colleges were to be upgraded. The target set was to produce at least 500,000 graduates a year by 1985. Exchange programmes to educate post-graduates abroad were drafted, and each university was encouraged to develop retraining courses for their own teaching staff.

Emphasis on science and technology had led to scientific research being accorded top priority. The State Scientific and Technological Commission, accountable directly to the State Council, supervised the Academy of Sciences, whose function was to carry out basic research

TABLE 8:

SCHOOL TYPES, STUDENT ENROLLMENT AND TEACHER-STAFF APPOINTMENT IN 1981

Type	Number of schools	Number of students (10,000)	Number of teaching and administrative staff (10,000)	
			Total	Full-time teachers
		19 478.68 (20 534.88) *	1 155.55	924.50
Higher learning	704	127.95	66.63	24.99
Secondary	112 505	5 014.55	411.71	300.88
Technical	3 132	106.90	32.57	13.59
Specialized	2 170	63.21	24.89	9.84
Normal	962	43.69	7.68	3.75
General middle	106 718	4 859.56	374.54	284.40
Senior middle	24 447	714.98	—	49.45
Junior middle	82 271	4 144.58	—	234.95
Agricultural and vocational	2 655	48.09	4.60	2.89
Agricultural middle	2 094	26.78	2.99	1.74
Vocational middle	561	21.31	1.61	1.15
Primary	894 074	14 332.83	616.46	558.01
For the blind and deaf-mutes	302	3.35	0.86	0.51
Kindergartens	130 296	1 056.20	59.89	40.11
*Figure in bracket includes kindergarten students.				

Source: Bai Liu, Cultural Policy In the PRC, UNESCO, Paris, 1983.

TABLE 9:

WORKER-PEASANT EDUCATION AT VARIOUS LEVELS IN 1981 (unit: 10,000)

Type	Number of students at school			Teaching and administrative staff	
	Total	Workers	Peasants	Total	Full-time teachers
Worker-peasant education in institutions of higher learning	1 928.86	844.16	1 084.70	47.92	37.19
Radio and TV universities	134.63	134.17	0.46	10.71	5.61
Worker-peasant schools of higher learning	26.80	26.80	—	1.49	0.65
Colleges (schools) for middle-school teachers' advanced studies	49.10	48.64	0.46	3.23	1.71
Secondary education for workers and peasants	58.73	58.73	—	5.99	3.25
Secondary technical schools for workers and peasants	820.67	641.88	178.79	11.98	8.52
Spare-time middle schools	311.86	196.46	115.40	5.07	3.63
Schools for primary-school teachers' advanced studies	376.64	313.25	63.39	6.91	4.89
Spare-time elementary education for workers and peasants	132.17	132.17	—	—	—
Classes of spare-time primary schools	973.56	68.11	905.45	25.23	23.06
Literacy classes	352.29	47.26	305.03		
	621.27	20.85	600.12		

Source: Bai Liu, Cultural Policy in the PRC, UNESCO, Paris, 1983.

in sciences. Applied research was generally conducted under the auspices of other government ministries. The Academy of Social Sciences was established in 1977 to promote study and research in the social sciences.

Despite the achievements since implementation of the new policies for modernization (the increase in student enrollment at all levels is shown in Table 8 and Table 9), the new policies were criticized by most people. At the National Conference on College Enrollment in 1978, there was strong argument about the ideological and political implication of the enrollment examination system. In the first place, some claimed that it ignored the Party's class line because enrollment tended to concentrate on urban areas only; therefore, the young people from the rural areas had been somewhat neglected. There was hardly any preferential treatment given to workers, peasants and their children in terms of receiving education. Only a handful of students were enrolled for higher education, and that was at the expense of the majority. There was strong opposition from the poor and lower-middle peasants. Certain production units put up a fight against the new policies, deliberately preventing the workers from studying by increasing their workload to prevent them from preparing for examinations. Provincial party leaders either refused to screen applicants or caused delay in the application process.

The key-point school system was strongly criticized because they tended to serve the privileged few in the urban areas. The youth in rural areas were in the disadvantage when competing with urban youth, especially when the quality and standard of education were comparatively higher and better in the urban areas under the government scheme of "concentrated development".

The significant difference in development between urban and rural education was being attacked as actually having widened the gap and disparity between the cities and the countryside, between the workers and peasants and between mental and manual labour. And, worst of all, the poor and lower-middle peasants were the people who would be excluded in the process.

There was a basic conflict between local needs and interests in terms of maintaining or increasing production, and the more distant and long-range national goals to develop capable personnel. The greater the exertion of the national authority over schools in transferring teachers back to schools, the more secure the positions of the teachers - but at the expense of the local production requirement.

The tendency to accelerate material or economic growth, while neglecting the political philosophy which supports the system, creates problems. What holds society together are the roots of a cultural tradition of shared values and shared ideals. Both modernization and industrialization point to the development of a managerial affluent society and organizational men. It embodies a vision of a modern culture which belongs to the common man and has its foundations in the noble ideals of freedom and equality, universal education and advancement of scientific truth. But, the question lies in whether the appropriate means of achieving it are means which have been chosen.

Manpower planning has been based almost invariably on optimistic estimates of growth in the modern sector and the employment opportunities which it will create. This has misled the government into believing that there is a shortage of highly-skilled personnel in the universities. In fact it often fails to point out the urgent need for a remedy

for the alarming growth of urban unemployment among the uprooted country people, and primary and secondary school leavers. Given that the survival rate through the education system is still so low, concentrated development on expanding higher education and uncontrolled educational expansion at other levels would only defeat the purpose of qualitative improvement and raising standards.

While maintaining a strong emphasis on academic achievement, there is always a tendency to take in more students than they can hope for its reward. In the end, it creates a pattern of failure in terms of high input (in student enrollment), high wastage (in the drop-out rate), and very low output (in the number of graduates) in the education system. In a way, the educational system is preparing young people for a way of life which society cannot provide, at least for a period of time. Education itself will not create jobs, the most it can do is to prepare young people to do a job and hopefully to get one. Therefore, to educate people regardless of employment opportunities may work perhaps in a society which is fluid enough to allow individual initiative to develop. But in a society where collective effort is urgently needed in every way to build up the economy, no 'wastage' can be afforded. Moreover, it is unpractical to educate children in preparation for an unchanged life, especially rural life, when most parents are demanding an escape from it, maybe not for themselves but certainly for their children. Schools alone cannot effect any dramatic change in rural life. But when they are part of the economic and social scheme which aims at rural development, making the countryside economically more attractive this will generate a more sympathetic youth and adult opinion to support the progressive aims of education, and offer a very feasible solution to solve the problems of "educational inflation" as

a result of centralization and urbanization, the widening of the gap between the bureaucracy and the peasants, the rich and the poor, the town and countryside, and the successful and the drop-outs. The egalitarian ideal of education for all through expansion of educational opportunities should not be allowed to create more inequalities and discrimination.

After the first phase of modernization, there had been criticism from all sectors of society. By June, 1979, the Fifth National People's Congress officially announced the need to readjust the priorities in China's modernization programme.⁷ In view of the undesirable outcome of the new policies and the role of education in national modernization, certain aspects have to be re-examined in determining the future development of Chinese education.

First of all, cultural tradition is the foundation of genuine nationalism and basis of cultural development. It provides the people with a shared identity and holds society together. Education has an important part to play in retaining the cultural continuity in the process of cultural development. The indiscriminate pursuit of economic goals, together with radical political innovation, can loosen the fabric of society and encourage political instability and social disintegration. Society maintains its integration on a set of generally agreed and aspired values. Whether it is politics in command or economics in command, education should be given the task of cultural transmission - knowing the past is to understand the present. The 'new socialist culture' cannot be imported or transplanted, it has to be built in relation to the old, and it has to be a Chinese socialist culture.

Secondly, an alternative educational policy based on a re-assessment of

the open-door schooling policy should be seriously considered. The open-door schooling policy seems to offer a possible answer to closing the three big gaps between manual and intellectual work, between workers and peasants, and between town and countryside. At best, it might help to promote production, therefore serving the economic base and contributing to the building of Chinese socialism. When the policy was conceptualized, it was supposed to make it possible for the combination of theory with practical work and mainly manual work. This was to enable students to maintain the basic working class mentality while acquiring substantial production skills. While students and teachers joined the working force in productive labour in factories and farms, workers and peasants became the students, attending short-term classes to raise their academic level and then returning to their original working unit with enhanced skills. The motives behind this activity of 'open-door schooling' may be primarily political, but it is also practical for the students to keep in touch with the productive base throughout their education, so that their roots in society, and particularly in the working class, will remain firm. They can then develop a clear purpose and attitude during their studies to their role in serving the people. Besides, this is also a preventive measure to guard the educated youth against becoming another 'privileged and arrogant elite'. "Going down to the countryside or up the mountains" may be a part of political education. It does take education to the roots of production, the basis of reality, and to the working people from whom the students can learn. It need not be a negation of academic learning, and it should not be; practical experience can complement the pursuit of academic studies. Opening the doors of school should serve to popularize and broaden education, and ultimately serve social needs. The difficulty may lie in questioning whether

China can afford such an experiment at this stage of modernization, when education is expected to produce well-qualified personnel who will contribute to modernize the nation's economy and raise the living standard of the entire population. On the other hand, it is equally significant to speculate on the harm it will cause if China were to bring up yet another generation of intellectual elite, remote and separated from the source of production and from the masses and their needs.

Along with this policy is also the consideration of continuing the effort to persuade educated youth to work and live in the countryside. Not only will it solve the problem of overpopulation in urban areas which will inevitably lead to unemployment, it will also bring urban and rural development closer together. An altered balance of monetary and social reward between rural and urban life will help to translate a new system of values and prestige, which in turn will guide young people in planning their own life.

Thirdly, there should be an establishment of the professional-technical education system. The 'two-kinds of educational system' should be adopted, insofar as it refers to using different ways to provide education to raise the scientific and cultural level of the people.

- Efforts should be made to consolidate the full-time day school on the one hand, and greatly develop the part-work part-study system of schools and spare-time education, with the aim of merging the two into a whole system of professional-technical education. While professional and technical subjects are gradually added to the general secondary school curriculum, senior middle schools should adapt themselves to the set-up of professional and technical training. The labour recruitment system will have to adjust itself to the recruitment of graduates from the professional-technical schools and offer in-service training to

provide the skilled labour needed in production.

Fourthly, development of rural education should be reinforced. Introduction of the 'Work Responsibility Programme'⁸ to the rural areas has created substantial problems in rural schooling. There has been a drop in the numbers of school-age children enrolling for the first grade, a high drop-out rate among the previously enrolled pupils, and large-scale student and teacher absenteeism. Peasant families with 'contract land' and with sideline occupations want to keep their children home from school, so that they can help on the land or with the sideline production. Teachers too, find themselves needed by the families to work. There has been a general lack of cadre commitment to education, this has led to mismanagement of school funds, non-payment of min-ban teachers' salaries, neglect of school buildings and a general apathy toward the development of teaching, school curriculum and the creation of an appropriate learning environment. These combine to produce the alarming result of a low level of educational achievement among peasant children. Young people from the countryside simply cannot compete with urban youth in college examinations, or for admission to a tertiary college. As a result, there is a large contingent of academic failures among the rural student population. The gap between city and country schools has been widened quite significantly. The problems facing the rural schools should not be ignored. In order for the entire nation to benefit from economic advancement, the new prosperity should stimulate new enthusiasm for education among the peasant workers. School attendance has to be encouraged. It is necessary to readjust the school timetables to harmonize with the agricultural calendar, such as shorter school hours during the busy seasons to allow students to have time off to help at home, and longer school hours during the slack season to

compensate for the time lost. Sunday classes and a lighter homework load are also recommended. The part-work part-study system will best suit the rural demand. Minban teachers must be encouraged to devote their time to teaching and to in-service training schemes to improve the quality of teaching. Development in rural education is the basis for the development of the nation's education system.

Fifthly, compulsory education should be extended. At the moment, education is universally available in China, but not compulsory. Compulsory education should be gradually extended from five years to at least ten years. Apparently the 'key-point'school system does not help, but rather has legitimized the existence of a hierarchy throughout the education system. The College Entrance Examination further reinforces it. There may be no real alternative to the present selective system of education, especially higher education, because of the great scarcity of resources. The peasant population, who have effectively been excluded from higher education through lack of proper - or any - secondary schooling, may tolerate the situation for a while. But once the nation's economy begins to improve, demand for places in higher education from the rural masses will increase. Measures have to be taken to meet the demand before situation becomes unmanageable.

There is no doubt that an enormous burden of expectations has been placed upon the educational system to produce competent personnel in the shortest possible time to support the modernization programmes. At the same time, the basic principle of providing equal educational opportunity to all cannot be ignored. The ideal of building a new Chinese culture is equally important to keep the nation coherent and intact, and education in all forms has an important role to play in the whole process of cultural construction.

CONCLUSION

Westernization and modernization has helped to realize the strong and long-frustrated hope among the people in China, especially the longing to establish a morally interdependent society founded on a coherent cosmology, essentially centralized and able to master the challenge of its external problems. During the early twentieth century, rejection of the traditional Confucian orthodoxy gave rise to cultural dislocation and created confusion. At the same time, abandonment of traditional education brought about the weakening and disintegration of the ideological, moral and political fabric of the old Chinese society. Thus, for over half a century, the Chinese people, especially the intellectuals, had experienced tortuous, soul-searching anguish for a solution, punctuated by periods of bold optimism and helpless frustration.

It is true that Mao's radical transformation has satisfied this intense desire among the people for a certain kind of morally integrated society. However, Mao's contribution lies in his ability to build on the work of earlier modernizers in designing his transformation of Chinese society. The earlier reformers recognized only the new instrumentalities of material wealth and power without being able to explain them as part of a single cosmic, societal and 'inner' process of moral transformation; their failure lies in the hollowness of their proposals, their inability to tap the resources of the Chinese spirit and their understandable obsession with Westernization. In this way, they could only tumble toward the new ideological synthesis. Mao's organizational success cannot be separated from the fact that, building on the heritage of May Fourth scientism, he was able to develop an

ideology in an attempt to solve this particular problem, especially through his emphasis on both the nationalist sentiment, which restores the dignity of the Chinese people, and a recognition of an inner identity, which enables one to see oneself in relation to the people around one within the framework of a larger organization.

On the other hand, the realization of the new solidarities in the PRC, which tend to merge the moral empathies of the polity, the city, the village and the family, is closely linked with the pattern of mass enthusiasm which is based on the optimism shared by many that China is actually entering an era of moral and material progress. So it follows that if this optimism declines, if the power structure and the economy are once again perceived as having failed in their moral integrity and material advancement, these new solidarities will weaken, and the newly designed collectivities which depend on them will also be affected. The kind of social order which China has established since the founding of the People's Republic will become more relaxed and less politicized, thus allowing the latent ideologies or other systems of thinking to contend with the dominant Communist ideology. Therefore, the success of modernization is as essential to China's development as it is to the future of Chinese Communism.

As T.A. Metzger has concluded, the problems of Chinese modernization are not necessarily those of a people in search of an identity or lacking in sufficient capital to industrialize. It is more a struggle to overcome a variety of obstacles that are psychological, intellectual, political and economic, and are impeding the continuing integration of Chinese society.

Max Weber's cross-cultural analysis of the Confucian ethos as incapable

of leading to capitalism and a modern industrialized layout has been challenged and proven erroneous, especially by contemporary sociologists like P. Berger and S.N. Eisenstadt. Nevertheless, Weber had established the importance of looking at culture in order to find the mechanism for economic development. In other words, he had affirmed the significant role of the idigenous ethos in the development of societies. Neither the 'institutionalist' nor the 'culturalist' argument alone can fully explain the success or failure of a society to develop economically. Both the cultural and institutional aspects of a society cannot be separated, they are interrelated and each is dependent on the other for its development. So, if the inability of a society to develop is due to its culture, then it follows that the success of a society to develop can be attributed to its culture. Therefore, China's failure in the past or her success at present cannot be isolated from her idigenous ethos and the problems of political integration and philosophical synthesis which the Chinese people will continue to confront.

This study has tried to illustrate the inner dynamism of Chinese culture to change and renew itself, despite the influx of Western ideas and the dominance of political ideology. The obstacles impeding the continuing integration of Chinese society have been traced in the educational sector by distinguishing the real problems of national development from political and ideological struggle. In China, education is not only an agent of cultural reproduction, it has also been made an instrument to inculcate the values of the new ideology and to bring about the designed change in society. Participants in this dual process of change and non-change will continue to be challenged as to what is best and most suitable for China's development. With the

recognition of the value of China's cultural heritage by the present leadership in 'making the past serve the present', and provided that the leadership does not interfere, the people will then have a chance at least to 'weed through the old to bring forth the new' for themselves.

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NOTES AND REFERENCES

PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. The Taiping Rebellion was led by Hung Hsiu-ch'uan who became "Heavenly King" (T'ien Wang) in the "Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace" (T'ai-p'ing t'ien-kuo). An account of the rebellion is given in Franz Schurmann's Imperial China, Penguin, England, 1967, Part II, No.2, pp.169-182.
2. Hung's pseudo-Christian ideals, the anti-Manchu movement, and the uprisings of the poor and destitute peasants formed the basis of the Taiping Rebellion movement.
3. The Taipings' revolutionary reforms covered various aspects of social reorganizations, such as the idea of common property, the land reform programme, the role and status of women, calendar reform, literary reform, etc., which had significant innovative effects on later revolutionary movements. An assessment of the Taiping reforms is discussed in Wolfgang Franke's Das Jahrhundert der Chinesischen Revolution, 1851-1949, translated by Franz Schurmann. München: R.Oldenbourg, 1958, pp.47-64.
4. See Sir Robert Hart's vivid description of the incident, These from the Land of Sinim, Chapman and Hall Ltd., London, 1901, pp.150-70.
5. Mao used it in the conclusion of his essay On Contradiction, 1937, to emphasize the importance of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the revolutionary cause, but practical experience was equally important to translate the principles into practice. The most recent reference made to this theme can be seen in the Constitution of the Communist Party of China, adopted by the Twelfth National Congress of the Communist Party of China on September 6, 1982, The General Programme, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1982, P.92
6. The relationship between ideology and the central value system, its endogenous and exogenous changes is systematically discussed in Edward Shils' "Ideology and Civility: On the Politics of the Intellectual", Sewanee Review 66, 1958, pp.450-480.
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CHAPTER ONE

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7. Pierre Bourdieu, "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction", 1973, in Knowledge, Education, and Cultural Change, ed. Richard Brown, Tavistock, London 1973, pp.71-112.
8. Raymond Williams, 'Base and Superstructure in Marxist Cultural Theory', in Schooling and Capitalism - A Sociological Reader, Roger Dale, et al., eds., Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1976, p.202
9. Ibid., p.205.
10. Edward Shils, "The Concept and Function of Ideology", in International Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. VII, 1968, pp.66-75.
11. Gunnar Myrdal, An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy, Harper, New York and London, 1944.

Myrdal made a distinction between the norms which relate directly to people's attitudes and everyday behaviour, which he called 'lower valuations'. Norms of more general application were the 'higher valuations' which may or may not be consistent with the 'lower valuations'.

More significant is his assumption that an individual is likely to accept the 'higher valuations' at the verbal and emotional level. Yet his actual behaviour is determined by the more 'restricted' beliefs and values. Hence an individuals' pattern of beliefs is not necessarily consistent. And the inconsistency can be a source of social conflict and create problems.

12. Chronology of Chinese Dynasties

Xia	2205	-	1765 B.C.
Shang	1766	-	1121 B.C.
Western Zhou	1122	-	770 B.C.
Eastern Zhou	771	-	255 B.C.
Qin	221	-	207 B.C.
Western Han	206 B.C.	-	A.D. 24
Eastern Han	25	-	220
Three Kingdoms: Wei, Shu, Wu	220	-	280
Western Jin	265	-	316
Eastern Jin	317	-	420
Southern and Northern Dynasties	420	-	589
Sui	589	-	618
Tang	618	-	906
Five Dynasties and Ten Kingdoms	907	-	979
Song	960	-	1279
Yuan	1279	-	1368
Ming	1368	-	1644
Qing	1644	-	1911

- 13 James Legge, translated, The Four Books, section on 'Confucian Analects'. Book II, Chapter 15, Hop Kuen Book Co., Hong Kong, 1961, p.11.
14. In Western philosophy, the subject matter of ethics is ultimate values, and the rational pursuit of such a value system must rest on a general conception of the nature of the world in which the values are sought, this is the aim of metaphysics. On the other hand, epistemology provides the study of metaphysics with a critical investigation of the various sorts of knowledge claimed and a method of thinking from and by which a general picture of the world (Weltanschauung) might be constructed.
15. Jin Yuelin (金岳霖), "Essay on Chinese Philosophy", 1943, in Chinese Social Science, 1981, No.1.
16. Confucian Analects, Book XV, Chapter 30, op. cit., p. 139.
17. Plato and Aristotle used the concept of 'god' as a basis for critical reasoning long before Christianity appeared. Both had a deep understanding of science as Plato's philosophy had its foundations in medicine and mathematics, Aristotle had offered a summary of all development in ancient sciences. Both science and religion were the product of ancient thinkers who used critical reasoning to search for the truth and universal laws of nature as well as the rules of 'god'.

After the eighteenth century, when traditional religion in the West declined, critical and rational thinking became allied with science. Kant attempted to use rational thinking to establish the boundaries of religion and ethics. Modern American philosopher, W.V. Quine tried to establish that 'philosophy is continuous with science'. Counterparts in Europe tend to reject the notion of collaboration of philosophy with technological

sciences. Instead, they look for an amalgamation of philosophy with religion and the science of the spirit (Geistwissenschaften).

18. Further reading in Chan Wing-tsit, Source Book in Chinese Philosophy, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 1969.

And Fung Yu-lan, A Short History of Chinese Philosophy, Free Press, New York, 1966.

19. Tucker, Robert C., ed., The Marx-Engels Reader, W.W. Norton, New York, 1972, The German Ideology, pp.111-164.

20. Karl Marx, A Contribution to the Critique of Political Economy, International Press, Chicago, 1913, pp.11-12.

21. A.J.P. Taylor, Karl Marx Friedrich Engels, The Communist Manifesto, Penguin, Britain, 1967, p.102.

22. Karl Mannheim, Ideology and Utopia, translated by L. Wirth and E. Shils, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1972, pp.2-6.

23. Louis Althusser, For Marx, translated by B. Brewster, New Left Books, London, 1977, pp.220-233.

24. Michel Foucault, "Orders of Discourse", in Social Science Information, Vol. 10, No. 2, 1971.

M. Foucault, The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences, Vintage Books, New York, 1973.

25. Paul Ricoeur, Hermeneutics and the Human Sciences, translated by John B. Thompson, Cambridge University Press, England, 1981.

26. Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology, Free Press, New York, 1965.

27. Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice" (July 1937), Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. I. 1975, pp.295-310.

28. Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy" (January 1940), Selected Works op. cit., Vol. II, 1967, pp.339-384.

29. Chu Hsi (1130-1200) and Wang Yang-ming (1472-1529) belonged to the school of neo-Confucianism.

Refer to Proceedings of the Discussions on Problems Concerning the History of Chinese Philosophy, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1957.

30. Mao, "On New Democracy", op. cit., p.154.

31. Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures, section on "Ideology as a Cultural System", Free Press, New York, 1973.

CHAPTER TWO

1. Max Weber, Methodology of the Social Science, translated by E. Shils and H.A. Finch, Free Press, New York, 1949.
2. H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1948, p.324.
3. Brian Holmes, Problems in Education: A Comparative Approach, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1965, pp.54-57.

Also, B. Holmes, Comparative Education: Some Considerations of Methods, George Allen & Unwin, London, 1981, pp.11-132.

The Confucian Model

4. The 'nine streams and ten schools' of thought were mentioned in the History of Records (Shih Chih) by Szu Ma Chien. They included Confucianism, Taoism, Mohism, the Legalists, Logicians, Yin Yang Chia, the Chung Wang Chia (Diplomats), Tsa Chia and Nung Chia (Agriculturalists).
 5. Buddhism was first introduced to China in around 65 A.D. during the Han Dynasty. Hsuan-Tsang made pilgrimage during the Tang Dynasty. Chinese Buddhism has developed in conjunction with the Chinese philosophical tradition, and later it became the Middle Path School of Buddhism, or the Zen School.
 6. Christianity was first introduced to China in the 16th Century by the Jesuit Missionary-scholars.
 7. James Legge, The Four Books, Hop Kuen Book Co., Hong Kong, 1961, "The Book of Mencius", Book III, Chapter 9, No. 7, pp.148-149.
 8. "The Doctrine of the Mean", Chapter XXX, No. 1, pp.37-38, The Four Books, op. cit., there mentioned the virtues and deeds of Yao, Shun, the Great Yu, and Kings of Wen and Wu.
 9. The Five Classics (Wu Ching) include the Book of Change (I Ching), Book of Records (Shu Ching), Book of Odes (Shi Ching), The Book of Rites (Li Ji), and the Spring and Autumn Annals (Chun Ch'iu). Later, Book of Music (Yueh) was added to form the Six Arts (Liu Yi).
- The Four Books (Si Shu) were The Book of Great Learning (Da Xue), The Doctrine of the Mean (Zhong Yong), The Confucian Analects (Lun Yu), and The Work of Mencius (Mengzi). They were compiled by Zhu Xi in the Song Dynasty.
10. The orthodox School maintained that Confucius wrote only the Book of Odes, the Book of Records, the Book of Rites, and the Book of Music, also the appendices of the Book of Change and the Spring and Autumn Annals.

Whereas the School of Higher Criticism contended that all these books had never been written or edited by Confucius, but rather that they were the work of later scholars.

11. "The Doctrine of the Mean", op. cit., Chapter I, No.1, pp.1-2.
12. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XX, Chapter 3, No.1, pp.183-184.
13. "The Great Learning", op. cit., Chapter 3, No.4, p.6.
14. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book II, Chapter 4, No.1, pp.7-8:

The Master said, "At fifteen, I had my mind bent on learning; at thirty, I stood firm; at forty, I had no doubts; at fifty, I knew the decrees of Heaven; at sixty, my ear was an obedient organ for the reception of truth. At seventy, I could follow what my heart desired, without transgressing what was right.

15. "The Doctrine of the Mean", op. cit., Chapter 20, No.18, p.26.
16. Ibid., Chapter 25, No.2, p.29.
17. Ibid., Chapter 22, No.1, p.28.
18. Ibid., Chapter 1, No.5, pp.2-3.
19. Ibid., Chapter 1, No.4, p.2.
20. Ibid., Chapter 20, No.8, p.21, and No.19, p.26.
21. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book IV, Chapter 1, p.22.
22. Ibid., Book VI, Chapter 28, No.2, p.46.
23. "The Great Learning", op. cit., Chapter 10, No.2, p.14.
24. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XII, Chapter 1, No.1, p.94.
25. Ibid., Book IV, Chapter 5, No.2-3, p.23.
26. Ibid., Book II, Chapter 13, p.10.
27. Ibid., Book IV, Chapter 24, p.27.
28. Ibid., Book IV, Chapter 10, pp.24-25.
29. Ibid., Book XII, Chapter 4, p.95.
30. Ibid., Book XV, Chapter 18, p.137.
31. Ibid., Book XVII, Chapter 23, p.162.
32. Ibid., Book XV, Chapter 17, p.137.
33. Ibid., Book XV, Chapter 7, p.184.

34. Ibid., Book XV, Chapter 10, p.183.
35. Ibid., Book V, Chapter 15, p.18.
36. Ibid., Book XVII, Chapter 8, No.3, p.156.
37. "The Doctrine of the Mean", op. cit., Chapter 20, No.10, p.22.
38. Ibid., Chapter 27, No.6, p.33.
39. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XX, Chapter 3, No.1-3, p.184.
40. Ibid., Book IX, Chapter 28, p.72.
41. Ibid., Book XVII, Chapter 6, p.154.
42. Ibid., Book XVI, Chapter 9, p.149.
43. Ibid., Book IV, Chapter 1, p.22.
44. Ibid., Book XVII, Chapter 3, p.153.
45. "The Doctrine of the Mean", op. cit., Chapter 20, No.9, p.21.
46. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XX, Chapter 3, p.184.
47. Ibid., Book VI, Chapter 25, p.45.
48. Ibid., Book XVI, Chapter 13, p.151.
49. Ibid., Book VII, Chapter 16, p.159.
50. Ibid., Book XIV, Chapter 25, p.125.
51. "Doctrine of the Mean", op. cit., Chapter 20, No.10, p.22.
52. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XVII, Chapter 8, p.156.
53. Ibid., Book II, Chapter 15, p.11.
54. Ibid., Book V, Chapter 8, p.31.
55. Ibid., Book XVI, Chapter 10, p.144.
56. Cary F. Baynes, translated, The I Ching or Book of Changes, Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1967, Chapter 2.
57. Book of Changes, Chapter 5.
58. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XIII, Chapter 13, p.109.
59. Ibid., Book XII, Chapter 11, p.99.
60. "The Great Learning", op. cit., Chapter 1, p.4.

61. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XV, Chapter 23, p.138.
62. "The Great Learning", op.cit., Chapter 9, p.12.
63. Book of Changes, Chapter 2, No.37.
64. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book XX, Chapter 2, p.181.
65. Ibid., Book XII, Chapter 9, p.98.
66. Ibid., Book XII, Chapter 19, p.101.
67. Ibid., Book XV, Chapter 19, p.137.
68. Ibid., Book XII, Chapter 1, p.94.
69. Ibid., Book III, Chapter 8, p.16.
70. Ibid., Book XVI, Chapter 1, p.143.
71. Book of Changes, Great Appendix.
72. "The Great Learning", op. cit., Book I, No.4, p.4.
73. Book of Changes, Great Appendix.
74. Ibid., Book I, No.2.
75. "Confucian Analects", op. cit., Book VII, Chapter 6, p.47.
76. Ibid., Book II, Chapter 2, p.7.

Model of Mao Zedong Thought

77. Mao Tse-tung, "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art", May 1942, Selected Works (SW), Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. III, 1967, p.99.
78. Mao, "On Contradiction", August 1937, SW, Vol. 1, 1975, pp.311-347. He argues that in order to resolve the contradiction between determinism and voluntarism, external causes are the condition of change and internal causes are the basis of change, and that external causes become operative through internal causes. And resolution of contradictions, as Mao saw it, are 'external and manipulative'.
79. 'To resolve' (jijue) refers to "conflicts are resolved"; 'to handle' (chuli) refers to "agent accomplishing the resolution".
80. "Talk on putting military affairs work into full effect and cultivating successors to the revolution", June, 1964, Mao Zedong sixiang wansui, WS, Long live the Thought of Mao Zedong, Red Guard Publications, Beijing, 1969, pp.500-504.
81. Mao, "In Memory of Norman Bethune", December 21, 1939, SW, Vol. II, 1967, pp.337-338.

82. Mao "Serve the People", September 8, SW, Vol. III, 1944, pp.227-228.
83. Mao "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains", June 11, 1945, SW, Vol. III, 1967, pp.321-324.
84. "Letter to Production Team Leaders", April 29, 1959, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969, pp.292-294.

Mao said that: "those who are honest and dare to tell the truth are, in the final analysis, beneficial to the cause of the people, and they themselves also have nothing to lose."
85. Mao, "Report delivered at a Conference of Secretaries of Provincial, Municipal and Autonomous Region Committees of the CCP: On the Question of Agricultural Cooperation", July 31, 1955, SW, Vol. V, 1977, pp.184-207.
86. 'Talk with the Palestine Liberation Organization Representatives', March 16, 1965, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969.
87. Mao, "Talk at the Yen'an Forum on Literature and Art", May 1942, SW, Vol. III, 1967, pp.69-98.
88. Mao, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", February 1, 1942, SW, Vol. III, 1967, p.39.
89. Mao, "On Practice: On the Relation Between Knowledge and Practice, Between Knowing and Doing", July 1937, SW, Vol. I, 1975, p.295.
90. Ibid., "On Practice", p.296.
91. J.V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Problems of Leninism, English edition, FLPH, Moscow, 1954, p.31.
92. V.I. Lenin, "Conspectus of Hegel's The Science of Logic", Collected Works, Moscow, 1958, Vol.XXXVIII, p.205, quoted in Mao's 'On Practice', p.297.
93. "Draft Resolution of the Central Committee of the CCP on some problems in the Current Rural Work", May 20, 1963, in Mao Zedong zhuzuo xuandu (Selected Readings from the Writings of Mao Zedong), Renmin Chubanshe, Beijing, 1966, pp.249-251.
94. "Oppose Book Worship", May 1930, Selected Readings from the Works of Mao Tse-tung, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p.40.
95. Mao, "On Practice", p.300.
96. Mao, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", p.39.
97. Mao, "On Practice", pp.299-300.
98. Ibid., "On Practice", p.303.
99. "Fourth Speech at the Second Session of the Eighth National Party Congress", May 20, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969, pp.216-220.

100. Mao, "On Practice", p.304.
101. Refer to reference 93.
102. Mao, "On Practice", p.308.
103. Mao, "On Contradiction", August 1937, SW, Vol. I, 1975, p.316.
104. "Sixty Work Methods", January 31, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1967, pp.29-38.
105. There is a distinction between the more general concept of conflict and the specific type of conflict which has been described as contradiction; though both have in common the implication of a similar framework within which objects, forces, or ideas interact. Conflict, therefore, allows for a possible common ground of agreement within that framework, they are the non-antipodean conflicts. Whereas contradictions suggest diametric opposition, the antipodean conflicts where there is no possibility of agreement or compromise.
106. Mao, "On Contradiction", p.316.
107. "On Dialectical Materialism", 1937, Joint Publications Research Service, U.S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C., 50792, June 23, 1970, pp.1-29.
108. Mao, 'On Contradiction', p.338.
109. Engels, Dialectics of Nature, translated by Clemens Dutt, Free Press, New York, 1940, p.26.
110. "Comment on Swimming", Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), July 25, 1966.
111. "Talk at the Chengdu Conference", March 10, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969, pp.159-165.
112. "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society", March, SW, Vol.I, pp.13-22.
113. "The Struggle in the Jinggang Mountains", November 25, SW, Vol.I, 1975, pp.73-104.
114. "How to Differentiate the Classes in the Rural Areas", October SW, Vol.I, 1975, pp.137-140.
115. Speech at the Eleventh Session of the Supreme State Conference: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions among the People", February 27, 1957, SW, Vol.V, 1977, pp.384-421.
116. Ibid., p.385.
117. "Sixty Work Methods", January 31, 1958, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1967, pp.29-38.

118. "Speech at the Hankou Conference", April 6, 1958, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969, pp.180-186.
119. Inscriptions for the Founding of the North Shanxi Public School, October 23, 1937, Mao Papers, ed. by Jerome Ch'en, Oxford University Press, New York, 1970, p.11.
120. Speech at the Central Work Conference: "A Talk on the Question of Democratic Centralism", January 30, 1962, WS, Red Guard Publications, 1969, pp.339-423.

CHAPTER THREE

1. Refer to the ideal typical model of Confucius in Chapter Two:2
2. Refer also to the ideal typical model of Mao in Chapter Two:3
3. It began with the Land Reform in 1949, then followed by the setting up of 'agricultural people's cooperatives' in 1955, and the establishment of 'people's communes' in 1958.
4. For further discussion, refer to Franz Schurmann, Ideology and Organization in Communist China, University of California Press, Los Angeles, 1968, Chapter 1, "Ideology in Action", pp.58-77.
5. Bai Liu, Cultural Policy in the People's Republic of China, UNESCO, Paris, 1983, p.15.
6. Ibid., p.18 on Cultural principles and policies.
7. Joseph R. Levenson, "The Place of Confucius in Communist China", China Quarterly, 12, October-December, 1962, pp.1-18.
8. Mao Tse-tung, "On coalition Government", Selected Works, Vol. III, Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1965, pp.304-5.
9. John K. Fairbank, The United States and China, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1959, pp.169-200.
10. Suzanne Pepper, "The Student Movement and the Chinese Civil War", China Quarterly, 48, October-December, 1971, pp.698-735.
11. Ta Kung Pao (Impartial Daily), was a newspaper with editions in Shanghai, Tientsin, and Chungking. The Hong Kong edition was not revived until 1948. It survived through the Civil War years, because of its close relation with the Political Study clique of the KMT.
12. Kuan-ch'a (The Observer), was known to be an independent journal of liberal political commentary beholden to no political group. The majority of its articles were contributed by college professors. It was actually founded by Chu An-p'ing, a professor at Fudan University in Shanghai, in September, 1946.

13. The opinion was summarized in the Editorial, "Our Purpose and Attitudes", Kuan-ch'a, Shanghai, I, No.1, September 1, 1964, pp.3-4.
14. Refer to Yang Jen-keng, "Where is the Kuomintang Headed?", Kuan-ch'a, Shanghai, II, No.3, March 15, 1947.
Yang was a professor at Peita (University of Peking).
15. People like Cheng Lin-chuang, Professor at Yenching University, Ting Su, professor of National Central University, expressed openly their support for socialism; Shih Fu-liang, Chang Tung-sun and others insisted on democracy.
16. Details on the Political Consultative Conference, see Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, The Government and Politics of China, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1950, pp.317-19 and 375-80.
17. Wang Yung-sheng, editor-in-chief of Ta Kung Pao, 'Three Directions for China's Future', Kuan-ch'a, Shanghai I, No.1, September 1, 1946, p.5.
18. Lu Ting-yi, "Let All Flowers Bloom Together, Let Diverse Schools of Thought Contend", speech made to an audience in Peking on May 26, 1956, Current Background, No.406, August 15, 1956, pp.3-13
19. Mao gave a speech on February 27, 1957, "On Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", Foreign Language Press, Peking, 1967, pp.155-156.
20. Ch'en Ch'ing-chih, History of Chinese Education, Shanghai, 2 Vols, 1936.
21. Shu Hsin-ch'eng, ed., Historical materials on Modern Chinese Education, Shanghai, 4 Vols., 1933.
22. John Dewey, Democracy and Education, Collier-Macmillan, London, 1966.
23. John Dewey, The School and Society, 2nd edn., University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1915.
24. J. Hugh Dorn, "The Principle of Combining Productive Labour with Higher Education in China : An Historical Analysis", Ph.D. Thesis, Southern Illinois University, U.S.A., 1973.
25. Hu Chang-tu, ed., Chinese Education under Communism, Teachers College, Columbia University, N.Y., 1962. Section on "Tradition and Change in Chinese Education".

PART TWO

INTRODUCTION

1. For brief reference, turn to Franz Schurmann & Orville Schell, ed., Imperial China (1967), & Republican China (1968), Penguin, Great Britain.

The following are some significant events in modern Chinese history:

- | | | |
|-----------|---|--|
| 1840-42 | - | The Opium War |
| 1842 | - | The Treaty of Nanking, concluded between China and Britain |
| 1851-64 | - | Taiping Rebellion |
| 1858 | - | Treaties signed with Britain, France, Russia, and the United States, extending special foreign privileges. |
| 1884 | - | Sino-French War |
| 1894 | - | Sino-Japanese War |
| 1899-1900 | - | Yi He Tuan Movement (Boxer Rebellion) |
| 1911 | - | Revolution led by Sun Yat-sen; Republic founded. |
| 1921-27 | - | Civil War between the Kuomintang led by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communists led by Mao Zedong |
| 1927-36 | - | Civil War continued |
| 1937-45 | - | War of Resistance against Japanese Invasion |
| 1946-49 | - | War of Liberation |
| 1949 | - | Founding of the People's Republic of China |

2. Derk Bodde, Peking Diary, Henry Schuman, New York, 1950, pp.23-24
3. Max Weber, The Religion of China, translated by H.H. Gerth, The Free Press, New York 1951.

The section on ethos of Confucian society illustrated the connection between ceremony, tradition, kin ties and personal associations, creating a network of interpersonal relations in Chinese traditional society.

4. Mao Tse-tung, "A Dialectical Approach to Inner Party Unity", (Nov.18, 1957), Selected Works, Vol. V, Foreign Languages Press, Peking 1977, p.515.
5. Mao Tse-tung, "The Contradiction Between the Working Class and the Bourgeoisie in the Principal Contradictions in China", (June 6, 1952), Selected Works, Vol. V, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, p.77.
6. Raymond W. Mark & Richard C. Snyder, "Analysis of Social Conflict", in Journal of Conflict Resolution, New York, Vol. 1, No.2, June 1957, pp.220-243.

They differentiated the two types of conflict relations into one that which conflict has been institutionalized

and is characterized by explicit rules, predictable behaviour, and continuity as in the case of collective bargaining. The other type has conflict that which has been institutionalized only to a small degree and is therefore characterized by an absence of agreed procedures of review of relations, discontinuity of interaction, or drastic shifts in the mode of resolution.

7. Ralf Dahrendorf, Class and Class Conflict in Industrial Society, Stanford University Press, California, 1959, pp.175-315.
8. Example used by Anthony Oberschall, Social Conflict and Social Movement, Englewood Cliff, New Jersey, 1973, p.70.
9. Mark & Snyder, op cit., p.225.
10. Mancur Olson, Jr., "Rapid Economic Growth as a Destablizing Force", Journal of Economic History, California, Vol. 23, pp.539-552.
11. Neil J., Smelser, Theory of Collective Behavior, Glencoe, New York, Free Press, 1963, pp.332-333.
12. Giuseppe Di Palma, The Study of Conflict in Western Society: A Critique of the End of Ideology, General Learning Press, Morristown, New Jersey, 1973, pp.8-10.
13. Lucian W. Pye, 'Culture and Political Science: Problems in the Evaluation of the Concept of Political Culture', Social Science Quarterly, U.S.A., Vol. 53, No.2, September 1972.
14. Lewis Coser, The Functions of Social Conflict, Free Press, New York, 1956, p.49.

CHAPTER FOUR

1. Robert C. North, "Conflict: Political Aspects", International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences, Vol.3, 1968, pp.226-231.
2. Common Program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, passed by the PPCC on September 29, 1949: Chapter V, Cultural and Educational Policy, Articles 41-49, in Current Background, Hong Kong, No.9, September 21, 1950, pp.1-3.
3. Mao Tse-tung, "On New Democracy" (January 1940), Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. II, 1967, pp.339-383.
4. Chien Chunju, "General Policy of Present Educational Construction", May, 1950, Renmin Jiaoyu (People's Education), Peking, No. 1 & 2, May & June, 1950.
5. At this point, Chien was referring to the six classes present in Chinese society: the first four classes comprised of the 'people', they were the working class, the peasantry, the petty

bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; the other two classes were the 'enemies' of the Chinese people, they were the feudal class (the warlords), and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

6. Report by Government Administrative Council on "Reform of China's Educational System", Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), October 1, 1951.
7. J. Gray, "The Economics of Maoism", Bulletin of the Atomic Scientist, Vol. 25, No. 2, 1969, pp.42-51.
8. Yang Hsiu-feng, op.cit., 1959.
9. Lenin, "The New Economic Policy - The State Capitalism", Collected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1961-70, Vol.3, p.626.
10. Report of Chang Hsi-juo to the First National People's Congress, in July, 1955, Remin Ribao (People's Daily), July 23, 1955.
11. According to Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) December 17, 1953, there were 14 Comprehensive Universities, 39 Technical Universities, 129 Specialised Institutes, altogether a total of 182 institutions of higher education.
12. Ibid., they were normal colleges (31 in number), agricultural forestry colleges (29), medical colleges (29), political and legal institutes (4), economic and financial institutes (6), language institutes (8), fine arts schools (15), physical education schools & colleges (5), and national minority institutes (2), making a total of 129 specialized institutes.
13. Yang Hsiu-feng, "China's Educational Enterprise Goes Through the Process of Great Revolution and Evolution", Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), October 8, 1959.
14. Mao Tse-tung, "On the Co-operative Transformation of Agriculture", Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol.V, 1977, p.184.
15. People's Yearbook, Peking, 1958, p.507.
16. Lu Ting-yi, "Report on the Agricultural Secondary School", Renmin Jiaoyu (People's Education), May, 1958, & Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), July 23, 1959.
17. Yang Hsiu-feng, op. cit., p.40.
18. Lu Ting-yi, "Our School System Must be Reformed", April 9, 1960, Current Background, Hong Kong, No.623, June 29, 1960, p.1-10.
19. Central Committee Resolution on the Establishment of the People's Communes in the Rural Areas, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1958, p.18.

20. Guangming Ribao, November 1, 1958, & January 3, 1959, gave detailed description of the educational system of a People's Commune in Hunan Province.
21. "Decision of Central Committee of CCP Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution", Peking Review, No.32, August 12, 1966, p.6.
22. Wang Hsuan-tze, "General Review of Culture and Education in Communist China in 1969" translated by S.M. Hu, Studies on Chinese Communism, No.12, December 12, 1969, p.80.
23. "May 7th Directive, 1966", Current Background, Hong Kong, No.888 August 22, 1969, p.12.
24. Mao Tse-tung, "Analysis of Classes in Chinese Society", Selected Works, Vol.I, 1965, p.13-21.
25. Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", Selected Works, Vol.V, 1977, pp.384-421.
26. Marx & Engels, The German Ideology, translated by T.B. Bottomore & M. Rubel, Karl Marx: Selected Writings In Sociology and Social Philosophy, Free Press, New Jersey, 1956.
27. Mao Tse-tung, "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People", op.cit. pp.419-421.

CHAPTER FIVE

1. Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice - On the Relation between Knowledge and Practice, between Knowing and Doing" (July 1937), Selected Works, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, Vol. I, 1975, 3rd Edition, pp.295-310.
2. Mao Tse-tung, "Rectify the Party's Style of Work", SW, op.cit., Vol.III, 1967, pp.35-52.
3. Ibid., p.41.
4. Mao Tse-tung, "On Practice", op. cit., p.303.
5. Lenin, "Pearls of Narodniks - Hare-Brained Schemes", Collected Works, Progress Publishers, Moscow 1961-70.
6. Mao Tse-tung, 'Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership', SW, op.cit., Vol.III, 1967, p.119.

'This means: take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them, then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their own, hold fast to them, and

translate them into action, and test the correctness of these ideas in such action. Then once again concentrate ideas....over and over again in endless spiral....'

7. For further discussion on the Yanan model, see Peter J. Seybolt, "The Yanan Revolution in Mass Education", China Quarterly, No.48, October-December 1971, pp.641-69.
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9. "The Central Ministry of Education Announcement of Carrying Out Curriculum Reform of Higher Education in order to achieve the Combination of Theory and Practice step by step", Renmin Ribao (People's Daily), August 3, 1950, p.3.
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2. "The Doctrine of the Mean", Chapter One, No.5, Ibid., p.1.
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4. Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Volume II, 'On New Democracy', SW, Vol.II, 1976, pp.339-380.
5. Ibid., p.369, XI. The Culture of New Democracy.
6. Ibid., p.381, XV. A National, Scientific and Mass Culture.
7. Conrad Brandt et al., A Documentary History of Chinese Communism, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1952, No.31, p.349-351.
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9. Liu Shao-chi, On Inner-Party Struggle, Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1941.
10. GMRB, October 16, 1949.
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12. The following were some examples:
North China People's Revolutionary University in Peking,
Southwest People's Revolutionary University in Chungking,
East China University of Political Science and Military
Studies in Shanghai.
13. Lu Ting-yi, People's Education, No.1, October 6, 1950.
14. "Chinese Christians announce New Direction of Endeavours", The Shanghai News, September 26, 1950.
15. RMRB, February 23, 1950.

16. RMRB, November 13, 1951.
17. Li Li-san, represented hasty and premature mass revolutionary action. He was responsible for the policy of seizing urban centres with the peasant Red Army, which later ended in failure, and was branded as putschism.
Li Ssu-hsi was a symbol of the evils of relaxation and the idle enjoyment arising out of the false notion that the revolution had been accomplished.
Wu Hsun was an historical figure; he was condemned for his failure to challenge the culture and economic structure of feudal society and for courting the favour of the feudal ruling class.
18. J. Leighton Stuart was appointed American Ambassador to China in 1946. He set up Yenching University. But he was then denounced as the agent of imperialism.
Chang Po-Ling was attacked for having set up private schools in China.
Mei Yi-chi of Tsinghua University was criticised for his lack of patriotism.
Hu Shih was greatly influenced by John Dewey and his pragmatism. They accused him of ignorantly admiring and worshipping imperialist America.
Liang Shu-ming was condemned for his view that China ceased to be a feudal society after the Chin and Han dynasties and that the Chinese feudal class disintegrated with the collapse of the feudal system of the Chou dynasty. He further questioned the Communist interpretation of history. He maintained that Chinese society had characteristics which made it different from the Western societies; therefore, China could not follow the path of historical development specified in Marxism-Leninism. In China, there was an absence of class; the Chinese people were not class-conscious, and the class-standing in Marxism-Leninism was alien to the Chinese way of thinking. He was charged with lack of 'study' and 'self-criticism'.
Chen Ho-chin was attacked for his support of the 'reactionary educational theories' of John Dewey and of American imperialism.
Chin Mu was opposed for his 'petty bourgeois ideas' contrary to 'the interests of the people'.
19. Current Background, No.182, May 15, 1952, p.15.
20. RMRB, January 25, 1956.
and "Report on the Question of the Intellectuals", Foreign Languages Press, Peking, 1956, p.26.
21. RMRB, May 11, 1956.
22. RMRB, June 13, 1956.
23. SW, Volume V, 1977, p.384-419.
24. RMRB, March 23, 1958, editorial entitled "Onward to the Goal of Thoroughly Red and Profoundly Expert".
25. GMRB, October 17, 1961, Fu Chen-Sheng, "Concerning the Question of Study".

PART THREE

CHAPTER SEVEN

1. The idea originated from Zhang Zhidong's (張之洞) 'ti' (substance) and 'yong' (utility) formula for introducing educational reforms in 1898. He advocated a 'balanced inequality' in dealing with Chinese learning and Western learning, while acknowledging the juxtaposition of the old and the new, the substance and utility, the inner and outer learning.

For further details, refer to William Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1971, especially Chapters 5 & 6.
2. For an analysis of the Taiping Movement, refer to Michael Franz, "Military Organization and Power Structure of China during the Taiping Rebellion", Pacific Historical Review, 18, November 1949, pp.469-483.
3. Tseng Kuo-fan, Tso Tsung-tang, Li Hung-chang, and Wu Ta-ch'eng were the early 'self-strengtheners' in the late 1890s. For their ideas, refer to Hao Yen-p'ing, "A study of the Ch'ing-liu Tang: The 'Disinterested' Scholar-Official Group", Papers on China, 16, East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1962, pp.40-65. And Richard C. Howard, "The Chinese Reform Movement of the 1890s: A Symposium", Journal of Asian Studies, 29.1, November 1969, pp.12-13.
4. K'ang Yu-wei (康有為) and Liang Ch'i-ch'ao (梁啟超) were the leaders for the 'Hundred Days' Reform, June 11 to September 21 1898. They presented the 'Ten Thousand Word Memorial' to the emperor, protesting against the Treaty of Shimonoseki and demanding numerous changes in the Qing government. They formed the 'reform group' in opposition to Chang Chih-tung's 'pure group'. For their writings on educational reform, refer to Franke Wolfgang, The Reform and Abolition of the Traditional Chinese Examination, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1960, pp.32-40.
5. Sun Yat-sen and Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuomintang, refer to Franz Schurman and Orville Schell, Republican China, Penguin, U.K., 1977.
6. Refer to Thomas A. Metzger, Escape from Predicament - Neo-Confucianism and China's Evolving Political Culture, Columbia University Press, New York, 1977, pp.60-85.
7. Tang Chun-i, The Value of the Spirit of Chinese Culture, Cheng-chung shu-chu, Taipei, 1972, pp.384-405.
8. Alex Inkeles, "The Modernization of Man", in Myron Weiner ed., Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, Forum series, 1966, p.154.

9. Refer to Zhang Zhidong (Chang Chih-Tung) and his formula of 'ti' and 'yong' and the ideas of the early reformers in the early 1920s.
See William Ayers, Chang Chih-tung and Educational Reform in China, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1971.
10. See S.N. Eisenstadt, ed., his essay on "Social Change and Development" in Readings in Social Evolution and Development, Pergamon Press, Oxford, 1970.
Also his text on Modernization: Protest and Change, Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey, 1966.
11. W.E. Moore, "The Social Framework of Economic Development", in Traditions, Values and Socio-Economic Development, ed. R. Braibanti and J.J. Spengler, Duke University Press, Durham, 1961.
12. John H. Kautsky, ed., Political Change in Underdeveloped Countries: Nationalism and Communism, John Wiley & Sons, New York, 1966.
13. David Apter, The Politics of Modernization, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1965.
14. Daniel Lerner, The Passing of Traditional Society, Free Press, Collier-Macmillan, New York, 1964.
15. Neil S. Smelser, "The Modernization of Social Relations", in Myron Weiner ed., Modernization: The Dynamics of Growth, Forum Series, New York, 1966, pp.110-111.
Also Smelser, "Towards a Theory of Modernization" in A. Etzioni and E. A. Etzioni ed., Social Change: Sources Patterns and Consequences, Basic Books, New York, 1963, pp.258-274.
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17. The Renmin Ribao (People's Daily) offered a number of very powerful and strong criticisms of Deng and the supporters of 'modernization' during the months of February and March, 1975.
18. Hua Guofeng, "Report on the Work of the Government", Beijing Review No.10, March 10, 1978, p.19.
19. The Eleventh National Congress of the CCP, Documents, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1977, p.124.
20. Far Eastern Economic Review, September 15, 1978.
21. Leo A. Orleans, 'Scientific and Technical Manpower', in Science and Technology in the PRC, OECD, Paris 1977, pp.93-112.
22. Chen Po-ta, "Speech before the Study Groups of Research Members of Academia Sinica", Documents, Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1953, pp.20-21.
23. Ye Jianying (葉劍英), Speech delivered at the 30th Anniversary of PRC, October 1, 1979.

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2. Ibid., p.80.
3. "A Major Polemic on the Educational Front - Criticizing the Two Evaluations by the Gang of Four", Red Flag No.12, November, 1977, pp.3-13.
4. Hua Guofeng, "Raise the Scientific and Cultural Level of the Entire Chinese Nation", Beijing Review No.13, March 13, 1979, p.8.
5. Deng Xiaoping, "Speech at National Educational Work Conference" Beijing Review No.18, May 5, 1978, p.9.
6. Liu Xiyao, "Report at the National Educational Work Conference" April 22, 1978, Chinese Education Vol.XII, No.1-2, 1979, pp.15-32.
7. Hua Guofeng, "Speech the Fifth National People's Congress", Beijing Review No.27, July 6, 1979, pp.11-21.
8. The 'work responsibility programme' (zeren zhi) is an attempt to assign responsibility and initiative to every individual in improving production. The principle is that a premium should be paid for the over-fulfilment of the norms of quantity, quality and economy. It entails a reorganization of agricultural production. The land is being parcelled out to individual households under the WRP in the form of 'production contract with the household'. Sometimes the draught animals, farm machinery and other items of capital productive equipment belonging to the collective team are 'contracted out' to a household or a group of households on certain conditions.

APPENDIX I : THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE PRC

(to be published in Brian Holmes, ed., "Education at Home and Abroad", George Allen & Unwin, London, 1984)

As a starting point of the discussion on Chinese education in the 1980s, the conventional hypothesis that Mao Zedong and the other members of the Chinese Communist leadership (including both those who supported Mao and those who disagreed with him) have a leading role to play in determining basic educational policy shifts during the last thirty years helps to put the issues in question in perspective. As far as goals and educational aims are concerned, one could not expect to find a rigid static 'goal structure' in the Chinese situation. Nevertheless, it is possible to identify a certain range of broad goals and general aims which have remained fairly constant and because of their level of abstraction, they allow for possibilities of policy choice. However, one should not be led to think that implementation of the goals specified by the Chinese leadership had been easy and unobstructed. Theories of policy implementation illustrate that the more complex the goals are, the greater number of the actors it will involve (different participants with possibly very different interests and values), the less chance there is for a policy actually to be implemented. Moreover, there is the objective reality with its specific conditions, unforeseen events and unexpected outcome, all of which have to be taken into account in understanding the development of a particular social system with education as one of the sub-systems. Therefore, for the purpose of analysis, it is assumed that ideas and goals of the leadership are a variable of decisive importance in the evolution of Chinese education.

The present system of Chinese education has its foundations in the Chinese Communist ideology which is based on Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought. It provides foremost an ideological framework within which the educational aims and ultimate goals are defined. The basic concepts of dialectical materialism, the unity of theory and practice, and the idea that all men are educable form the rational construct for the Chinese leaders to develop an educational system that would contribute to national construction.

Intrinsic in the nature of socialist education is the important assertion of combining education with productive labour to develop the entire personality. In addition, education as a social organization within the infrastructure is subordinate to national economic development, and also its class character affirms the notion that education in the socialist context is ultimately political.

Guiding principles for the work of education were first laid down in the Common Programme of 1949 before the adoption of the Constitution in 1954. But it was based mainly on the general principles set forth by Mao himself (On New Democracy, 1940) that the aim of the revolution was to build a new society and a new state for the Chinese nation. According to the Common Programme (Chapter V, Articles 41-49), the government was to endeavour to build a new democratic culture and to set up an educational system that is national, scientific, and popular. The major tasks had been specified as "raising the cultural level of the people, training personnel for national construction work, liquidating feudal, compradore, fascist ideology and popularizing the ideal of serving the people". Education, therefore, is regarded not only as a right for all, irrespective of sex or nationality, but also an

effective tool to mobilize the people in the process of class struggle to continue the revolution. "To intellectualize the proletariat, and proletarianize the intellectuals," had always been the intention of Mao. Thus, all educational reforms were to reflect "democracy for the people and dictatorship over the reactionaries" (On the People's Democratic Dictatorship, 1949).

In 1957 & 1958, Mao Zedong stated clearly the goals towards which the education revolution should proceed. He claimed that education must serve proletarian politics and be combined with productive labour. Everyone who gets an education must be enabled to develop morally, intellectually and physically and become a worker with both socialist consciousness and culture. Priorities for educational development were listed in the order of equalization of educational opportunities by strengthening education for the working people and for the cadres of worker and peasant origin in schools of all levels, establishing technical vocational education and at the same time providing revolutionary political education for the intellectuals. It was anticipated that consolidation of a national independent educational system would best meet the needs of planned political and economic development by producing a sufficient number of literate skilled workers who were devoted to the course of building socialism. (Kuo Mojo, 1950.)

Since the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, despite certain aspects of educational development, especially in making education available to more people and awakening in them a kind of social and political consciousness which was dormant in the old society, many problems still exist. It is difficult for the present educational system to meet the needs of national development as defined by the present leadership. The constant changes of Chinese

educational policy over the past thirty years not only reflected the inconsistency of the leadership but also gave rise to instability in the whole development of education.

During the period of reorganization between 1949 to 1952, change and innovations were guided by the egalitarian ideals of reducing the three major differences in the Chinese society, namely between town and countryside, between worker and peasant, and between mental and manual labour. This provided a rationale as well as the motivation for emphasis on quantitative changes. Efforts were made to modify the Yanan model¹ to a national scale and to expand the setting up of minban schools as well as worker-peasant schools as a supplement to the system of formal education. As a result, educational opportunities especially at the base level of the educational pyramid were greatly increased; therefore, to a certain extent it had reduced the existing inequalities by extending the provision of education to the people in the rural areas. But then the adoption of the Soviet development strategy as the First Five-Year Plan in 1953 shifted the emphasis to quality and academic achievement, and concentrated the development of education on the tertiary level in the urban areas. The anti-rightist campaign of 1958 reinstated the general line policy and refuted the Soviet methods by putting politics in command. The Great Leap Forward movement that followed called for mass mobilization to implement the work-study system and introduced the open-door policy of mass participation and the 'three-in-one'² organization of the schools. It was during this period when the agricultural middle schools were first established. However, economic crises and natural disaster forced the leadership to adopt a more selective approach to slow down expansion by reducing enrollment to primary schools but expanding spare-time education instead. A kind of 'key school' system was designed to concentrate

development. The so-called 'two-track' system of education began to evolve. During the period of 1963-65, as the ideological contradictions over production and continuing the revolution, class solidarity and class struggle, and study and productive labour grew with the increased educational differentiation into the "two educational systems and two labour systems", the power struggle within the party intensified.

The Cultural Revolution which began in 1966 brought about a decade of radical changes as well as disruption. Its slogan was to "destroy the old and establish the new" in the revolutionary process of struggle-criticism-transformation to transform the superstructure of the Chinese society. Drastic measures were taken to extend educational opportunities in rural areas by implementing vigorously the policy of 'walking-on-two-legs'; factories and communes were encouraged to run schools in whatever form that would best suit the local conditions and needs. The open-door policy of recruitment of students was applied according to the mass line where workers and peasants with practical experience were elected to study not only in schools but also in the institutions of higher education. With the setting up of the revolutionary committees based on the three-in-one combination of the worker-peasant-soldier to operate the schools, Party workers and the Propaganda Teams entered the schools to supervise the teaching procedures. This policy was further implemented to unity teaching, scientific research and production; schools of all levels set up and managed their own workshops, factories and farms. On the other hand, the 'down-to-the-countryside' movement aimed mainly at remoulding both the teachers and the youth of their proletarian outlook. They were required to participate in collective labour for a

fixed period of time during each term. In addition, the length of the period of schooling was shortened to five years for primary school, four or five years of middle school and two to three years for higher education at the university level. The number of subjects was reduced with top priority being given to the study of revolutionary theories. All entrance examinations were abolished and the open-book examination system was then introduced. It was a planned attempt to integrate theory with practice by incorporating into the curriculum Mao's idea of the revolution in education, i.e. to involve all, teachers and students, workers and peasants alike, to participate in the three revolutionary movements of class struggle, struggle for production and scientific experiment.

By 1975, criticism of the revolutionary changes was rife. The Great Debate on the Revolution in Education focused on the issue that unless academic standards were to be raised, it would be impossible for the country to achieve the goal of becoming a modern industrial state by the end of the century. Immediately after the death of Mao in 1976 and followed by the liquidation of the Gang of Four, under the new leadership of Hua Guofeng, new policies began to be announced in the autumn of 1977 to incorporate with Deng Xiaoping's four modernization goals.³ According to the Constitution of 1978, education was given an immediate task for the new period to train a large contingent of working-class intellectuals and to raise the scientific and cultural level of the entire nation by greatly improving the quality of education at all levels so as to produce qualified personnel who were both 'red and expert'. Under the guidance of the 'four fundamental principles' of socialism, proletariat dictatorship, Party leadership and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong thought, the concept of the

'walking on two legs' were to be adopted with more flexibility by utilizing all possible resources to realise policy objectives.

Based on the primary concern to improve the quality of education and to raise the level of teaching standards and academic excellence were made the target of all learning. Emphasis has been shifted to the standardization and professionalization of the process of learning and teaching. A highly competitive examination system which was monitored by the Centre has been reintroduced. With the official acknowledgement of the disparity in ability and individual effort, the practise of streaming and the key-point school system⁴ has been instructed to be implemented at the various levels. Power has been restored to the education bureaus at both the provincial and local levels. Above all, attempts have been made to raise the social, political and professional status of the teachers whose expertise is once again being valued. It is obvious that these measures aim to keep education development in pace with the requirements of national economic development. Following this educational line of training at high speed a large number of skilled and professional workers needed for economic advancement demands great effort on the part of the state to mobilize all possible forces. It requires the coordinating efforts between the central authorities and the local administration, the industrial and agricultural units, the cooperation of the intellectuals in a unity of purpose to provide education in a variety of forms, including both full-time and part-work part-study schools.

As far as the correct handling of the relationship between political consciousness and professional competence is concerned, the debate on 'redness versus expertness' continues to dominate public discussion.

Although the present leadership retains its position of firmly adhering to the basic principles set forth by Mao in 1958 by taking correct political orientation as primary whereas the study of science and culture as a necessary outcome of a correct political consciousness, the search for a middle-ground where both 'red' and 'expert' are to be integrated, i.e. the harmonization of the two concepts in practice is difficult. The question of how to effectively implement the policy of combining education with productive labour has yet to be defined. To map out what and how productive labour and scientific research can be integrated into the school curriculum without disrupting the normal process of learning and study requires not only a clear indication from the Party of its developmental strategy but also an honest assessment of the present system with regard to its long-term and immediate goals in relation to the social and economic reality. Continued fluctuations in educational policy only creates confusion and instability. Contradictions within education cannot be resolved unless the conflicts between the rival leadership groups are being considered, especially when each group holds different concepts and interpretations of the Marxist ideology as well as the actual Chinese context.

The following discussion will focus on the educational reality as exemplified in the various aspects of the administration, organization, and content of education to reveal the possible areas where further adjustments could be made if education were to contribute substantially to the progress of modernization.

I. Administration and Finance

The purpose of education and its organization is to serve the people,

but it is the Chinese Communist Party who defines the interests of the people within the overall concept of socialist construction. As it is laid down in the Constitution of 1978, the Party operates its leadership in accordance with the principles of the mass line, democratic centralism and collective leadership, it also permits the Party to dominate the entire structure of the education system.

Mao first developed the 'mass-line'⁵ style of leadership to enable the Party to gain legitimacy by eliciting the support of the masses. Through a process of regularized procedures of communication and interaction between the cadres and the masses in regular sessions of 'criticism and self-criticism' in both party committee meetings and people's congresses (it is claimed to be a self-correcting device in preventing the development of party elitism), the Party is held to be the best representative of the interests of the masses, thereby, establishing the preeminence of Party leadership. In Chinese terms, democratic centralism refers to 'democracy under centralised guidance' with the individual being subordinated to the organization, the minority to the majority, the lower level to the higher level and the entire Party to the decision of the Central Committee. Democracy is delegated to Party congresses when members of the Party Committees at all levels are being elected by secret ballot from a list of candidates approved by the higher levels of the Party. In order to ensure democratic consultation, Party leaders at each level have to report to the entire membership of that level on all issues such as the plans, programmes and experience of that particular Party unit. Above all, internal Party criticism is recognised as a right of all Party members.

The respect for collective experience makes collective leadership a preference in defining the interaction and relationship among the

members of the specific unit as the Party members meet, discuss and reach a consensual decision to be transmitted to the other non-Party members of that same unit.

After the death of Mao, education has been recentralised into a bureaucratic hierarchy which is made up of four levels: the 'Centre', the provincial level, the country level, and the local organizations within cities and communes. Each level of the system functions to control that which is below and is to be controlled by that which is above.

The highest level of organization is the national Ministry of Education located in Beijing. Through the Planning Commission, the Minister of Education reports directly to the State Council. Once the goals are being set, they are transmitted to the Ministry which, in consultation with the Planning Commission, prepares a series of directives that are to be handed down to the provincial bureaus for administration. The Ministry of Education is subdivided along functional lines into seven offices over which the Minister presides. The office of foreign affairs deals with the visiting delegations and exchange visits by the Chinese nationals to foreign countries for study or conferences. The planning office is in charge of long-term planning and acts closely with the Planning Commission. The higher education office is mainly responsible in all matters ranging from approval of the curriculum to the development of textbooks and the appointment of the teaching and research personnel. The development of the first- and second-level of education is centred in the elementary and secondary education office which prepares the text, reviews curriculum plans and designs personnel assignments. While the mid-level technical specialties office deals with all aspects of technical schooling, the worker and

peasant office is responsible for developing adult education and organizing spare-time education. In order to keep the Ministry of Education abreast of the needs and requirements of other ministries, the liaison office acts as a coordinating agent to provide communication between the other ministries and the Ministry of Education especially in sponsoring educational institutions of their own. The State Council, The planning Commission, together with the Ministry of Education, are commonly referred to as the 'Centre' by the bureaucrats outside Beijing.

At the provincial level, the six different departments of the provincial education bureau perform functions similar to the various offices in the Centre. The higher education department administers all institutions of higher learning in the province. While supervising the curriculum and the national college entrance examination, its main role is to provide leadership in planning and for innovations. Other than supervision and evaluation of the curriculum, the elementary and secondary education department has the responsibility to integrate activities of the extra-curricular organizations, namely the Communist Youth League, the Red Guards, and the Little Red Soldiers, into a system which supports the school formal learning programmes. The workers' and peasants' department at this level has its attention focusing on basic literacy classes as well as middle-level courses in agricultural techniques. The curriculum department conducts regular meetings with teachers in various areas to discuss standards and goals before reporting to Beijing. The other two are the personnel department, which is responsible for the assignment of staff to schools and the enrollment of students, and the financial department which oversees the preparation of the budget and allocations of the funds.

In practice, the provincial organizations have little influence of effecting change except to implement policies formulated at the higher levels.

The county education office at the municipal level provides services similar to those of the provincial education bureau only on a smaller scale. Except for the three municipal bureaus of Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin which are directly responsible to the Ministry of Education, other municipalities report to the education bureau of the province in which they are located. Neighbourhood committees administer and operate the elementary and middle school in each school district. In the communes, there is an education office with different personnel for specific responsibilities. The brigade or the production team usually elects a person to be in charge of the running of the local primary schools.

This pattern of bureaucratic hierarchial structure of the education system is reinforced by a standardization of processes when the practice of decision making is all guided by rules and set criteria. Though there is some form of informal division of responsibility between the central and the provincial education bureaus and the local school administration in determining how to translate national goals into practice to suit local needs and circumstances, the tendency of an overlapping membership and interlocking directorates among the higher administrators who are Party members enables the Party to formulate policy and then to administer it through a bureaucratic machinery which is not necessarily composed of Party members.

Moreover, parental involvement is basically supportive and is initiated most of the time by the 'professionals' in schools. Formal interactions

between the schools and the parents are limited to the general meetings (twice a year) at the school, and the initial home visits by the teachers to obtain background information. The local community under the leadership of the Party committees is responsible for providing help for student organizations to set up children's palaces and neighbourhood centres for extra curricular activities and support in the area of political and moral education for the young people. It is significant to note that both family and community participation in the process of formal education is mobilized only when it is necessary to pursue the specified goals subject to continuous adjustment whenever there is a shift in policy preferences.

Though centralization is basically an important principle in the Communist ideology to ensure the control of the Party over the development of education. This hierarchical structure, at its best, provides an efficient system of resource allocation that maximizes contributions to meet the needs of national development, because it facilitates central planning and decision making. But when the central government lacks the funds required to support the desired educational activities, it becomes necessary to enlist local initiative support. Besides, centralized control of the professional functions is extremely difficult. The success of the educational process relies on the quality of the teachers as well as a correct motivation of the learner. Effective implementation of the present educational policy calls for a systematic process of decentralizing education sufficiently to encourage local initiation as well as measures to gain the cooperation of the local teaching staff in support of the general line of national development.

Though education is mainly financed by the state, in terms of public spending on education which indicates the government's commitment to develop education, and according to the 1979 state budget, 10.8 percent of the total expenditure was to be spent on culture, education, health and science, probably leaving no more than 5 per cent for education. Even in terms of GNP percentage, the Chinese authority admitted that only a rather small part was spent on education (around 2.09 per cent back in 1978 as compared to Japan's 5.4 per cent and United States' 7.4 per cent back in 1971). The argument for increased investment by the state in education in order to promote economic development is not without grounds.

In the process of budget deliberation, the State Council and the Planning Commission make all the gross manpower training decisions based on national surveys in determining what type of personnel the country needs and then transmit these goals to the Ministry of Education which in turn produces the proposed budget, derived initially from the sub-provincial level recommendations, to be approved by the State Council. Accountability is interpreted as a requirement for the local schools to justify each item included in the proposed budget which has to be reviewed by the finance department of the provincial education bureau for further adjustment before sending it onto the Ministry for final approval. If cuts are made in a province's educational budget by the Centre, the education bureau can decide on whether to distribute the reduction equally among all its schools or fully meet certain schools' budgets while cutting back on others. It is important to note that locally raised funds constitute a considerable part of total spending. Individual communes are actually encouraged to add a portion of their own funds to the school budget. Therefore, it is

possible for the different units to have their educational expenditure exceeding the national norms. In this way, the more developed industrialised areas can afford to provide better education, while the poorer rural areas tend to be ignored the issue, since they often suffer from the shortage of educational resources and therefore lag behind in their educational development. This poses a very serious problem of widening the gap between the urban and rural development, not to mention the contradiction to the egalitarian principles.

The State pays the teachers' salaries and about one-third of school building costs. Based on a 'needs-analysis' method of calculating the amount each student is required to pay for their education, only about 30 percent of those studying in the elementary and middle schools receive scholarship from the schools they attend. It is quite common that families pay for the education of their children. The average cost of education per child per term is estimated to be ranging from 7.50 to 12.00 yuans⁶ in the urban areas and 6.00 to 10.00 yuans in the rural areas. The schools usually give financial assistance to students according to the average income per family member per month, roughly 12.00 yuans for urban families and 10.00 yuans for the rural families. About 75 per cent of the students attending the secondary specialized schools are given financial aid, whereas government grants are made available to students in the institutions of higher education. Full-time schools especially the key schools are financed by the State, while the partwork part-study schools have to rely on local financing as well as the funds augmented by the income from the students' work projects.

Under the present economic situation, unless there is a significant increase in the productivity per worker, a high commitment to education

in relation to available resources would be unrealistic. To incorporate the educational plan into the national economic strategy in manpower training is a more positive step toward the equalization of educational opportunities especially in the rural areas when the struggle for production to survive is still prominent.

II. Structure and organization

Education of different levels is organized in accordance with the Party directives based on the policy of 'walking-on-two-legs'. Pre-school education is provided in both public and community-run kindergartens. The former are maintained by the government agencies, the army units (the People's Liberation Army), as well as the industrial and mining enterprises, the latter are set up by the neighbourhoods in the cities and by the communes, or their production brigades and teams in the countryside. They take children from 3 to 7 years old. Depending on local conditions and needs, there are either day-care or boarding infant schools. In addition, temporary infant classes are organized during the busy farming seasons in the countryside.

Primary education is compulsory and universal. It admits children aged 7, but in some cities, children of 6 or 6 1/2 years old are enrolled. And it lasts for five years. Under the campaign to provide universal primary education, schools and classes are run in various ways according to local conditions and special attention is paid to admit the over-age students and girls especially in the frontier regions.

Secondary education is provided in a variety of schools. The general secondary schools offer a total of five years schooling which is divided into two stages: three years in the junior middle school

and two years in the senior middle school. It is intended that if the situation becomes possible, the senior school will be extended to three years. Its main objective is to prepare students for higher education. Whereas the secondary professional schools are responsible for preparing professional personnel. Through the training, the students will acquire a secondary education level and vocational instruction. The period of schooling is three to four years for those which take the junior school graduates and two years for those which admit only senior middle school graduates. In general, the secondary professional schools enroll only local students because jobs are assigned to graduates according to their specialization and locality. Some schools admit students from the neighbouring provinces on condition that they will return to their province to work after graduation.

Schools are further divided into the two tracks: the full-time day schools which are financed and run by the State, and the part-work part-study schools which are locally funded. This policy of the 'two kinds of educational system' is said to be an immediate measure adopted by the Party to bridge the gap between rural and urban educational provision as well as the ultimate elimination of the differences between manual and mental labour. Each type of school has a role to play: the full-time day schools concentrate on raising the educational standard while the part-work part-study schools perform the function of popularizing educational opportunities. It is claimed that development of Chinese education is geared toward the building of a complete professional and technical education system, with an anticipation of certain changes in the labour recruitment system to facilitate the course.

At all levels, 'Key Schools' are designated around the country as model

institutions to raise standards and to ensure a high quality of education. About 20 of these schools are directly run by the Ministry as national keypoints, others are under the administration of the local education bureaus with the authorization from the Center. All key schools are to have more competent teaching staff and better teaching facilities. While admitting the existing disparity between the key schools and the regular schools, the Chinese leaders argued against a 'one set' national unified development with an even distribution of the resources. On the contrary, they claimed that development of the key-point areas can make full use of the advantage of their standard and concentrate the resources to produce as quickly as possible a large group of specialists to carry out the work of the four modernizations. This policy has broadened the gap between the key schools and the other schools, but according to the high authority, it will in the long run facilitate the gradual narrowing of the gap when the key-point areas become adequately developed to support the less developed schools.

The 'two kinds of education system' is a measure the authority has adopted to bridge the gap between mental and manual labour - the correct handling of the relationship between education and productive labour. The full-time day school and the part-work part-study school have a dual role to play i.e. raising the standard and popularizing education opportunities. Incorporated in the plan of the intended changes in the labour recruitment system, development of Chinese education is guided toward the goal of building up a complete professional and technical education system.

Enrollment reforms were announced officially in October 1977 which spelt out the admission policies at various levels. Admission to kindergartens remain limited only by the availability of facilities.

Entry to primary schools is based on the 'neighbourhood school principle'. But once a school's potential student population exceeds the school's capacity, examination is used for screening candidates but with political attitude and physical health as the second and third criteria. A national standardization of the secondary entrance examination is being considered to rank students according to academic ability and special interests so that they can be assigned to different types of schools. The key schools select students mainly on the basis of academic excellence as shown by the results of the entrance examination and the grades obtained in the previous school. The candidate's political and moral behaviour as shown in the report by the former teachers, staff, and students of the school he last attended, and the satisfactory physical condition of the student are is considered. Since each criteria is assessed sequentially, failure at one stage implies elimination from further consideration. A conventional examination schedule for all academic subjects is being restored in the school: a mid-term test and a final examination are to be given in every semester and report cards are issued twice a year. Promotion depends on passing the final examination at the end of each school year in a set of subjects. Failure to get through the 'make-up' examinations would mean repeating the year's work. According to the general plan, all examinations and tests are supposed to be used as a pedagogical device for defining the levels at which the students should best operate; but in practice, they become effective means of selecting the better students for higher education. The implication of this process of differentiation has its social meaning as well as its political significance which the Party leaders have yet to define.

In the school, children are grouped according to their ability. But the way in which they are streamed is determined by the individual

school. Some prefer the two-stream system of dividing the students into 'fast' and 'average' classes, or 'regular' and 'make-up' classes, others use the three-stream method by adding a 'slow' class to the two streams. The rationale behind this is said to be a way to facilitate not only the distinction of students who need extra help, but also teaching which can then be adjusted to the educational level of the pupils. This, however, is to cope with the problematic situation of a serious deterioration of educational quality and the varied standards among the students. Though in 1979, Jiang Nanxiang the then Ministry of Education, warned against the possible drawbacks of streaming, such as overemphasizing the proportion of students who are graduating for higher levels, while neglecting the slow class. Reports have revealed that there were cases when students gave up and just 'drifted along'.

III. Curricula

The political mission of education requires it to develop productive labourers with socialist consciousness. Therefore, politics remains a central component of the curriculum. Politics is seen in terms of 'building socialism' which implies that education should be designed not only to impart the knowledge of skills that will enable the individual to make an effective and useful contribution to the economic development of the country, but also to inculcate a certain world view which governs the motivation of the individual and provides a context for applying the acquired skills. Thus, participation in productive labour is viewed as an invaluable pedagogical tool both in enriching classroom experience and in inculcating attitudes that would promote individual social-political development. Work experience counts when it is carefully planned to open up career opportunities and to enlighten choice of careers.

The Curricula are set by the Ministry and textbooks are prepared by the provincial or local education departments. The kindergartens are set with the task of equipping children mentally and physically for the primary schools. Instruction of the skills in the three 'Rs' is combined with organized activities for the purpose of generating a collective spirit among the children as well respect for authority. The kindergartens serve as an effective socializing agent at this stage of early childhood development. Children learn by emulating models, they perform interesting tasks around the school and learn to help others.

A typical curriculum at the provincial primary school level indicates the study of the Chinese language, mathematics, music, fine arts and physical education. Natural science and politics are added from the fourth grade onward. In urban schools, foreign language instruction begins at the third grade. Today at present English is the most popular foreign language studied. According to the official guidelines, the school year is composed of 9 1/2 months including half a month of physical labour in the fourth and fifth grades in the form of participation in either factory or farm work.

In the general secondary schools, fourteen subjects are offered through the five years. They include the Chinese language, mathematics, foreign languages, politics, physics, chemistry, biology, history, geography, basic knowledge of agriculture, physiology and hygiene, physical education, music and fine arts. In the senior middle school, students are divided according to their majoring studies either in the advanced sciences or in the liberal arts subjects. The school year lasts for nine months. Junior middle school students are required to do six weeks of manual labour per year, while the senior middle school

students have to perform eight weeks of productive labour per year or one month per semester. Labour assignments in these schools form part of the curriculum and are directed toward the purpose of consciousness raising. In the case of the part-work part-study schools, it is for the fulfilment of the requirement of wage labour when the proceeds of the students are reverted to the school for maintenance.

The secondary professional schools train middle-level specialists for modernized production. There are 347 specialities in eight professions: 242 in engineering, 25 in agriculture, 11 in forestry, 12 in medicine, 34 in finance and economics, 1 in physical education, 20 in arts and 2 in teacher training. The basic curriculum consists of four categories of required courses: political science, general literature, basic courses for the specialities and the specialized courses. Practical work in appropriate settings set up either by the school on a non-profit basis or by the community units is required and the proportion varies according to the speciality. The school year lasts for ten months and the courses range from two to four years.

Unified curricular for all full-day primary and middle schools are being planned at the Centre, this would specify not only the teaching plan and materials, but also the time of instruction and length of schooling. The move toward standardization is intended to raise the quality of education and to ensure academic standard, but it leaves little room for flexibility and variation to allow the school curriculum to reflect local needs and circumstances. In view of the Party's commitment to implement the policy of 'walking on two legs', centralised control over the curriculum produces uniformity but with rigidity; instead of reinforcing local initiative, it creates

compliance to the set rules on the one hand, and competition on the other.

The relationship between education and productive labour is clearly defined in terms of the student's moral-political development on which the curriculum theory is based. However, the pressure to tap bright students to develop them along substantive lines, and the emphasis of academic excellence, create a concern for the authorities to work out a way that would combine the two components in a more utilitarian manner. The regulation of the time devoted to labour and to formal study of academic subjects becomes a much debated issue as disagreement appears in the optimum mix of work experience and intellectual study in the total educational process of the individual student.

IV. Teacher education

Development and improvement of teacher training is being regarded as a fundamental issue before the goals of raising the standards and expanding education can be achieved. Teachers at different levels of the education system should all receive a basic minimum training. The category of secondary professional schools, both the infant and secondary normal schools admit graduates from the junior middle school. The former trains teachers for the kindergarten while the latter for the primary school. The course of training lasts for a period of three years. Usually, normal schools have experimental primary schools and kindergartens attached to them for training teachers to do their teaching practice. In 1978, there were 161 teachers' colleges and normal universities which offer a four-year programme to train teachers for the middle school. A shorter course of three years is offered in the teachers' institutes. They all take graduates from the senior middle

school. All training teachers receive the People's Grants-in-Aid. In addition to educational theory and practice, the training is designed to cultivate in the student-teachers high political, moral, cultural and scientific standards. In the third-level, teachers are selected from college graduates and from among the post-graduate students. They are expected not only to teach but also to be involved in research.

The reconciliation by the authority in equating mental labour with physical labour in the cause of furthering the construction of the socialist state pointed to the adoption of various measures by the government to up-grade the status of the teachers. The education bureaus are in charge of appointment of all teachers. Each teacher is posted to a particular assignment relating to the individual's special abilities as well as the demand of the schools in the area. Transfer between schools at the same level, and particularly from one level to another, requires approval of the provincial education bureau through the personnel department. Teaching staff are not free to change jobs, they must wait for the local units to make the request and be approved by the provincial authorities.

As an integral part of the up-grading programme to strengthen the teaching personnel, teachers who had been transferred to other work units were sent back to their original schools to meet the demand for qualified teaching staff. They are guaranteed that five-sixths of their time can be devoted to professional work with the rest for productive labour. Regular teachers are required to continue on a constant process of in-service education and professional development. Intensive in-service training programmes, based primarily on the principle of self-study in spare time, are conducted in various ways: two afternoons in the week, teachers are required to attend

meetings in the school to study politics and engage in 'educational transformation' discussions designed to upgrade pedagogical effectiveness; they can attend either short-term courses or full-time one-year refresher courses organized by the teachers' colleges and normal universities; or they can take up correspondence courses, radio and TV lessons. Teachers who have not been professionally trained but qualified through in-service training are to be recognized and therefore duly certified by the education bureau. The fact that minban teachers (i.e. locally hired teachers) are required to sit for a qualifying examination set by the education bureau as a condition for continued employment shows the determination of the authority not only to upgrade the professional skills of the teachers but also to keep the teaching profession within state control.

V. Higher and university education

The demand on higher education to achieve the objectives and functions as defined in terms of personnel output and political and ideological exigencies imposed by the construction of a socialist state on one hand, and the problem to work out and allocate the appropriate means, financial and human resources in the light of the country's real capacity on the other, produce a constant constraint on the Chinese leaders to embark on a consistent policy for higher education. The tension was made acute during the line struggle within the Party, causing repeated setbacks and greatly hampered the development of higher education.

As part of the general programme of educational reform drawn up in October, 1951, based on the principle of 'the unity of theory and practice', all higher educational institutions were set with the task to educate qualified workers with modern scientific and technical

capabilities - the university education system was reorganized into a system of specialised institutions with more emphasis laid on technical training rather than basic theoretical studies. Measures were taken to increase the intake of students by making technical schools independent institutions, reducing the duration of the courses to 3-4 years, and lowering of the entrance requirements to allow the cadres and soldiers to be recruited. This resulted in the reduction of a great number of universities and a large number of drop-outs (3.5 per cent of the total student population in 1954) who found themselves below the standard to assimilate the knowledge taught, and also a great demand for competent teachers for the basic courses. The system was based on the Soviet model which turned out to be extremely costly and unpractical as it was unable to provide the required number of personnel with the type of training that was relevant to the work of national construction.

In the time of the Great Leap Forward movement (1957-60), attention was given to further increase the number of enrolled students, aiming to destroy the universities of their monopoly in training a ruling elite by establishing parallel co-existing training institutions. Political quality was made an important criterion in the selection procedure which might dispense with the normal academic prerequisites allowing students of worker and peasant origin to be enrolled. Individual examinations were replaced by collective exercises and group correction methods. Manual work became compulsory in all curricula, with students devoting at least two months per year to productive labour. The stress was laid on integration in the employment of the university community in factories, mines, and peoples' communes. The implementation of the policy of 'walking on two legs' encouraged other organizations in society to set up institutions alongside with the regular schools to

to train technical and scientific cadres. At the same time, two types of education were offered: the regular full-time education and the so-called 'spare-time' education which the Chinese refer to as the half-study half-work education on the one hand, and studies outside working hours on the other. Other than those run by the local authorities, these so-called 'part-time universities' and vocational schools which offered crash courses were either sponsored by the regular higher educational establishments or run by the industrial units. This reform of the higher education was severely attacked by the academic community for having considerably lowered the standard of studies.

However, the economic crisis that accompanied the Great Leap Forward led to a revision of the education policy. Adjustment measures were adopted to focus on quality rather than quantity and on its specific function in concentrating on the few advanced sectors that would promote economic development. Unqualified worker and peasant students were sent home resulting in a great reduction of the student population. A large number of establishments opened during the Great Leap were either closed down or amalgamated with the others. Specialization had become the guideline for both the institutions and the students who were encouraged to become 'experts' in specific areas. Manual work was reduced to six weeks in the year. The reorganization within the establishments in making the 'teaching and research groups' of different specialized areas the administrative basic unit was a significant step in reasserting the prime importance of 'expert' studies. Stricter admission requirements based on written examination results/intellectual attainments did not only regulate the student population but also create a situation whereby the young people

in-urban areas, especially those from the families of cadres, who had the incentive provided by the family background and the best secondary schools became the advantage-group, whereas access to higher education was difficult for the children of the workers and peasants. In higher education, priority was always given to scientific and technical training, whereas agricultural skill was developed at the primary and secondary levels.

The education system as a whole was one of the main targets of the Cultural Revolution. Mounting criticism of the higher education system on the shortcomings of the selection procedures, curricula and methods, and the system's overall orientation was turned into strong attacks of the system being an essential instrument of discrimination against the working class children, of creating an elite group which benefited from higher education status to 'exploit' the working class. Mao's directive of 21st July 1968 reinstated his conceptions of all higher educational establishments to be 'primarily scientific and technical institutions'. When he attacked the previous system of concentrating on 'expertise' therefore neglecting the 'redness', it was important to note that he used the term 'expert' to mean specialization in a particular field of study and not expertness in terms of high ability.

- Universities and higher educational establishments had practically stopped all regular functions except for political activities since June 1966. It was not until the latter half of 1968 before the reconstruction of higher education began.

During the so-called 'period of moderation' (1969-73), administration of education in general was delegated to the provinces which, on top of their financial responsibilities, the authority had to determine student enrollment, appointment of teachers as well as the curriculum.

Selection for most universities was organized at the provincial level. Within the educational establishments, the role of the workers' propaganda teams gave way to the revolutionary committees which mainly consisted of teachers and cadres. Since the revolutionary committees were made up of a Party Secretary and his deputies, in actual fact, it was the Party Committees which had the effective control. The selection procedures concerning age limit, the criteria, though based on the same principles of 'democratisation' in theory, varied from one year to the next and from one region to another. The major innovations since the Cultural Revolution were the integration of manual and productive work into education and the more direct involvement of the school with society. Despite the political and moral implication of manual work as a fundamental issue, the 'open-door' school policy attempted to integrate practical production work with theoretical studies and make use of the in-plant training courses for experimental purposes. This was facilitated by the setting up of production units such as workshops, factories and farms by the educational establishments and the organization of regular contacts with the other industrial plants, the people's communes as well as the economic units.

Higher education was then given the tasks of running entirely on the basis of the half-work half-study system to provide accelerated training in various forms of special classes at the university. Technicians, professional and research workers were called on to meet the demand for a large number of teaching staff to launch the new courses. Such a system sought to tackle the problem of dissemination of knowledge, particularly in rural areas, but the problem of the quality of this kind of education remained.

Under the banner of modernization which began in 1977, higher education was given a new meaning in a revised form. Instead of training for middle-level cadres and skilled workers, the goal of higher education was to train senior professional workers and to develop science, culture and technology. The admission policy was officially announced in October, 1977 to restore the national college entrance examination. Applicants have to be 26 years of age or younger who are either graduates of the senior middle school or with the equivalent level. Students are admitted not only on the basis of their overall score but also their achievement in particular subjects in the written examinations which include six subjects of politics, Chinese language and literature, mathematics, a foreign language, physics and chemistry for those who intend to do science in the university, and history and geography for those who want to study liberal arts. Application has to be made to the basic unit for initial screening. The Minister of Education allots quotas of college seats to each province and sets the test papers. The provincial education bureaus then review the test results and the political report of each candidate prepared by the basic unit before assigning the selected applicants for the physical examination. The revival of such a highly selective system is intended to ensure standardization for the purpose of raising the quality of higher education to fulfil its tasks.

In 1979, there were 633 higher educational institutions, i.e. universities, colleges, institutes and higher professional schools. Among which 89 were key universities and institutions designated as centres of learning and scientific research. There are more than 800 specialities, among more than 500 are science and engineering which accounts for 65% of the total curricular offered. The period of higher

education lasts from four to five years in the universities and institutes and two to three years in the higher professional schools. Job assignments of all graduates are essentially made by the government.

Based on the principle of the three-in-one combination of teaching, research and production of 1958, postgraduate education has been given special attention after a period of suspension during the Cultural Revolution. Both the Chinese Academy of Sciences and the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (this was established only 1977) are engaged in basic research that are of major concern to the national economy. The period of postgraduate education lasts from two to four years. The Standing Committee of the National People's Congress announced in February 1980 of the establishment of the regulations concerning academic degrees to become effective on 1 January, 1981. This was a significant development in bringing the higher education system toward an international standard.

The new policies are not met without obstacles. The rehabilitation of the intellectuals to participate in the teaching and research brings about problems of organization, especially when the professionals hold different attitudes and opinions in matters of curriculum design, management of educational and scientific resources from that of the Party line. It is apparent that a kind of meritocracy is being developed under the present selective system based on academic achievement. The Chinese leaders reject the notion that it will create an intellectual elite. Perhaps meritocracy itself does not go against the principal design, then it is the prevention of this meritocracy to be evolved into a privileged 'new class' that calls for greater scrutiny.

The general policy on higher education is that of gradual expansion.

But meanwhile, the demand for more places is mounting especially from the rural masses (the peasant population) who are being 'effectively' excluded from higher education through lack of proper secondary schooling. The fact that a system of admitting commuter students has been introduced and a number of affiliated or branch colleges are being set up may help to ease the tension but only temporarily, as the basic problem remains unless the development of higher education is being given a more consistent policy-line which is based on a more balanced development, both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The above discussion has shown that the present education system in China is not without problems. Most of which are related to the frequent changes of educational policy resulting from leadership controversies among the leaders. The people are much confused with the rhetoric of Party politics let alone proletarian politics which education is supposed to serve. Despite the new attempts made by the present leaders to remedy the damage done by the 'Gang of Four' to carry forth the revolution in education, fundamental contradictions in theory and practice both inside and outside the educational sector are still inherent even though they have been identified and interpreted but differently at various periods by different people and resulting in very different solutions designed to solve them. The rivalry among the leadership, the conflicts between different groups of people holding onto the traditional educational values and those adhering to socialist ideals, the challenge of the influx of concepts of modernity, and the uneven development between the rural and urban areas, together constitute an immense developmental problem and create a complex and difficult situation in the process of socialist construction. When the present leadership prefer to view this as a challenge of the backward

productive force to the advanced socialist system rather than a continuous struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, it is vital that among the leadership some kind of compromise and cooperation were to be secured in matters concerning basic values, and definition of problems and development strategy before the new educational policy can have a chance to be effectively implemented. While adhering to the dialectical method of conscientiously drawing general conclusions from experience, and exposing the contradictions to analyze them, the leadership can try to find synthetic solutions to solve the problems.

High-speed economic development and the development of science and technology is undoubtedly a great challenge to China's economic reality. But the question as to whether the new educational policies will contribute substantially to the progress of modernization will depend largely on how soon the Party can win back the confidence of the people in the State by overcoming the problems of economic recession and inflation as well as unemployment of the 'educated youth' on the one hand, and the extent to which the Party can maintain an intellectual community that is both 'red' and 'expert' on the other.

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NOTES

1. Yanan model:

The system of education which was carried out in the old liberated areas in Yanan before 1949. It was based on the principles of self-sufficiency, self-reliance and local initiative. The major policies were to combine education with production and to promote popular education. In practice, various forms of part-time schools, evening classes and other work-study programmes were implemented. The system then aimed at promoting basic literacy, imparting political consciousness, as well as providing practical technological knowledge that was directly relevant to the particular need of the local communities and production groups.

2. 'Three-in-one' combination:

This expression appeared earlier on in 1958 during the Great Leap Forward Movement as a slogan to raise the quality of both teaching and research by combining classroom instruction with productive labour as well as scientific research.

But during the Cultural Revolution in 1968, this was referred to as the three-in-one combination of workers, PLA members (soldiers) and activists among students, teachers and university workers who formed the so-called revolutionary committee to manage schools and universities.

3. The 'Four modernization' goals:

Ye Jianying in 1979 claimed that work of the Communist Party was to shift to socialist modernization for the purposes of:

- (1) training of the necessary scientists, technologists and economic administrators;
- (2) raising the technical proficiency and scientific level of all workers, peasants and other working people;
- (3) stepping up economic construction and correspondent development of science, education and culture.

4. Key-point schools:

Based on the principle of combining popularization with the raising of standards so as to ensure the quality of education, a number of key schools have been designated at all levels of education in all provinces, municipalities and autonomous regions. These schools have better administrators, teachers and equipment in order that they can play the exemplary role.

5. Principles of the mass-line:

- (1) All correct leadership is necessarily "from the masses, to the masses", i.e. take the ideas of the masses and concentrate them and then go to the masses and propagate and explain these ideas until the masses embrace them as their ownand translate them into action and test the correctness of these ideas in such action.
- (2) The authority of the non-party masses both to originate policy and to criticize the party for its incorrect implementation of that policy.
- (3) In education, the key concept is self-reliance i.e. relying on the resources and initiatives of the grass root people (the masses) using unprecedented methods and approaches to achieve the assigned goals.

6. Yuan:

Based on the estimates provided by REUTER in April 1982, the equivalence of Renminbi were US\$1 = Rmb 1.8132 yuan or HK\$1 = Rmb 0.3143 yuan.

7. Minban schools (people-operated schools):

An overall concept of mobilizing the grass-root people to provide and operate their own schools in local communes or production brigades to promote culture and increase production. They were half-day schools, spare-time schools, factory-run schools as well as seasonal schools.

THE EDUCATION SYSTEM OF CHINA

1. The Organization and structure of the system

*Figures are estimates of 1979 according to The Chinese Year Book of 1980-81.

Level	Duration Age	Types of Institutions	Number of Institutions	Pupil Enrollment	Transfer Procedures
			1980	1980	
Level 4	2-4	universities institutes the Chinese Academy of Sciences the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences	319	17,728	
	4-5	universities colleges institutes	675	1,143,700	national college entrance examination
Level 3	2-3	higher professional schools	----	----	
	4	teachers col- leges & normal universities	161	310,000	
	3	higher train- ing schools			
	senior 12 2/3 junior 3	general second- ary schools senior middle junior middle	144,233	59,050,000 12,920,000 46,130,000	internal examination
Level 2		agricultural secondary schools & vocational secondary schools	----	----	
	2-4	secondary professional schools technical schools	3,033 1,980	1,199,000 714,000	
		normal schools (secondary & infant)	1,053	484,000	
Level 1	5 7 (6 & 6)	elementary schools	923,500	146,629,000	internal examination
Pre- School	3-7	kindergartens (some affiliated to primary schools)	165,600	8,792,000	
		infant schools (both boarding & day schools)			
		infant classes			

---- figures not available

2. CURRICULA:

First Level : Based on the principle of basic education the following subjects are taught:

Chinese language	
mathematics	from
physical education	1st grade to
music	3rd grade
drawing and painting	
foreign language (English)	added to 3rd
political education	grade onwards
general knowledge of history	
	geography
	natural science
physical labour (labour education)	added to
- half a month each year	4th & 5th
	grades

Second Level : (1) General secondary school offers a curriculum composed of the following subjects:

political education	history
Chinese language	geography
mathematics	fundamental knowledge
physics	of agriculture
chemistry	physiological hygiene
biology	physical education
foreign languages	music & art

(2) Secondary professional schools have a total of 347 specialities with the following distribution:

engineering	242
finance & economic	34
agriculture	25
arts	20
medicine	12
forestry	11
teacher training	2
physical education	1

The curriculum consists of 4 basic categories:

- (i) politics
- (ii) courses in literature
- (iii) basic courses for the selected field of specialised study
- (iv) specialised courses

Third Level : Based on the principle of the three-in-one combination of teaching, research and production, more than 800 specialities are offered with over 500 in science and engineering.

Fourth Level : Based on the principle of combining knowledge with practice, the areas of research cover the following:

technology	science
agriculture	arts
forestry	medicine
economics	teacher training
politics	physical education
art	

3. TEACHER EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Structure - Consists of three levels :

- (1) Higher teacher-training institutes offer a four-year curriculum to prepare teachers for the upper-middle schools. This also includes the colleges of education and schools of education which provide in-service training to teachers.
- (2) Teacher-training schools offer a two-year curriculum to prepare teachers for the lower-middle schools.
- (3) Secondary teacher-training schools & schools for kindergarten teachers:
 - the former offer a three-year programme for future primary school teachers;
 - the latter train teachers for the kindergarten with a varied length of training.

Curriculum of all teacher-training institutions consists of four parts:

- (1) political theories & other functional courses
- (2) pedagogical studies (including pedagogy, psychology, teaching methods, etc.)
- (3) courses in specialized subject areas
- (4) teaching practice

4. UNIVERSITIES OR INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION

According to the estimates of 1981 there are:

675	institutions of higher education
91	key institutions
30	directly under the Ministry of Education

Types of Institution:

203	polytechnic
172	teacher-training colleges
109	medical schools
56	agricultural colleges
32	comprehensive universities
30	economics schools
26	art colleges
11	colleges of physical education
10	colleges of language
10	colleges of forestry
9	colleges for the minorities
7	law schools

APPENDIX II: GLOSSARY OF CHINESE TERMS

baihua 白話 (白話)
 cheng 誠 (誠)
 dazibao 大字報 (大字報)
 dao (tao) 道
 di 弟
 geming (keming) 革命
 gong 工
 hao 好
 hui 惠
 jishi 濟世 (濟世)
 jing (ching) 經 (經)
 junzi (chun tzu) 君子
 li 禮 (禮) / 理
 lichang 立場 (立場)
 lilun 理論 (理論)
 lunli 倫理 (倫理)
 min 敏 / 民
 minban (minpan) 民辦 (民辦)
 ming 名 / 命
 nong 農 (農)
 ren (jen) 仁
 shang 商
 shengren 聖人 (聖人)
 shi 士
 shih 詩 (詩)
 shu 恕
 sixiang 思想

sixiang gaizao 思想改造
 taiji 太極 (太極)
 ti 體 (體)
 tianzi 天子
 tianming 天命
 wen 文
 wenyan 文言
 wu 惡 (惡) / 五
 wujiang simei 五強四美
 wulun 五倫 (五倫)
 xiafang (hsia-fang) 下放
 xiaxiang 下鄉 (下鄉)
 xiao 孝
 xiaoren 小人
 xin 心
 xing (hsing) 性
 xingwei 行為 (行為)
 yi 義 (義)
 yinyang 陰陽 (陰陽)
 Yijing (I Ching) 易經 (易經)
 yong 用
 yu 欲
 zhengming 正名
 zhi 智
 zhong 忠
 zhong yong zhi dao 中庸之道
 zhuyi 主義 (主義)

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